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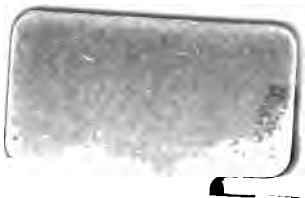

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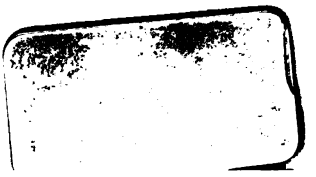

THE

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A JOURNAL OF

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THE METHODIST QUARTERLY.

MARCH, 1871.

ART. I.—EARLY CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

IT is a difficult task for the student of ancient Irish history to distinguish between the shadowy forms of legendary myths and the distinctly marked outlines of historic reality. As in the early history of all nations, fable and fact are here so closely interwoven that it is with difficulty we can separate them. Yet truth and fact there are, and to the attentive and careful observer order and regularity will evolve out of apparent confusion.

The great difficulty of dealing with such a subject arises from the distance at which we are placed from the actors in the drama, the dim light which reveals their action, and the conflicts or victories in which they bear a part. There is often in history, as in some scenes in nature, an element of disappointment when expectation has been high. We once stood upon a mountain side to watch the dawn of day. In the darkness we had been climbing, and, fixing our expectant gaze upon the horizon, we waited to see the sun break forth. As yet, all was darkness. But in the silence of that waiting hush of nature there seemed the heralding of coming change. And as we looked, strange glimmerings began to appear. There were strugglings between the darkness and the light. Shapes of cloud assumed weird-like and fantastic proportions, and seemed perpetually floating hither and thither, above and around; now standing out in bold relief against the dawn, and anon melting into each other, or vanishing away. At length the light of day dawned, and for a season lit up the scene with growing radiance. But the sun appeared only in glimpses now and then, brief and passing; and as he mounted the sky the clouds again gathered, and the darkness of a dull and heavy day disappointed our expectations as we turned wearily homeward from the scene.

Just so is it in the early history of Ireland. We look anxiously at the farthest verge of the dark horizon of the past, and as we look, strange figures loom out before us, and amid chaos and confusion pass away. All is shadowy—unintelligible. But as the glimmering light increases, we can catch sight of the forms of men of the olden time, races from Eastern lands, and these again succeeded by other races—hardy warriors from the North, and the dark-browed sons of Southern climes. We watch the passing shadows of these early times. By the dim light we see the struggles of these mighty men of old. We catch the sound of triumph mingled with the wail of sorrow; storm for a season gives way to calm, conflict to peace; but again the tempest rages in its fury and the battle waxes loud. And so, on with the rolling years and increasing light, until the sun of Christianity appears. By that light are seen the figures of heroic men nobly doing their work—a work of peace and love—amid the darkness and confusion of their age, and we begin to augur well for the day that has dawned upon the land. But though the light grows bright, and clear, and beautiful, it shines only for a season. Dim and clouded it becomes at last; and though the morning dawn was bright and promising, yet we look with sadness upon the dark day by which it has been succeeded.

It is our purpose, in this paper, to attempt a general survey of Christianity in Ireland from the time of its origin till the latter end of the twelfth century—a period very distinctly marked in the history of the country, and differing in many important particulars from the period which has since elapsed. Laying aside, as unworthy of notice, the monkish chronicles of later ages, which, like all such referring to the ecclesiastical history of any country, abound with monstrous and incredible fables,—we shall aim at giving the results of an examination of the earliest and most authentic sources of information upon the subject.

We claim,—as the period of the commencement of Christianity in Ireland—the latter half of the second century. Some writers have gone so far as to assert that in Apostolic times the Gospel had found its way to Ireland, but there does not appear to be sufficient reliable testimony in support of this assertion. But it can scarcely be questioned with any good reason, that in the second century Christian churches existed in the country. It is not at all probable, to say the least, that Ireland lay in darkness while Britain received the light; and, whether through the instrumentality of missionaries, conquerors, or merchants, the Gospel was undoubtedly preached in Britain at that period.

In the latter end of the second century Tertullian writes to this effect, that "even those parts of the *British islands which had been unapproached by the Roman arms were yet subject to Christ.*" Eusebius, the early historian of the Church, and the friend and biographer of Constantine, who took a prominent part in the Nicean Council of the year 325, and there met with representatives from all parts of Christendom, writes of some "who in their labours had passed over the ocean to those which are called the *British Isles.*" In each of these instances the use of the plural noun is evidence that Britain alone is not referred to. In the beginning of the fifth century (412), a curious passage occurs in the writings of Jerome. In the preface to his commentary on Jeremiah's prophecies he refers in most abusive and angry terms (shewing that the *odium theologicum* was not then unknown), to Pelagius and Celestius—names which, when reduced to their original Keltic form, signify respectively Morgan and Kelly. Both of these were Keltic missionaries, and one, at least, if not both, born in Ireland. The name of Pelagius has been associated with one of the early heresies of Christendom, for if not the originator, he was certainly the boldest propagator of what is still known as the Pelagian heresy. A free translation of the passage in Jerome alluded to is this:—"An ignorant slanderer has started up to find fault with my commentaries on St. Paul's epistle to the Ephesians. What can he know about them—made fat as he is with Scotch (Irish) flummery? . . . . Though dumb himself, he barks through a great Scotch dog, who makes more ado with his heels than with his teeth. He is of an Irish brood, and, like another Cerberus, must be well beaten, till, with his master Pluto, he for ever hold his peace." As a proof that when Pelagius and Celestius left Ireland for the Continent there existed a Christian church in the country, it may be mentioned that Celestius wrote in the year 369, from the school or monastery of Martin of Tours, three letters, in the form of small books, to his parents in Scotia (Ireland),* containing many pious admonitions. Presuming that his parents could read and understand them when they arrived, it is only reasonable to conclude that amongst the people, as well as the clergy, there existed a knowledge of literature and an acquaintance with Christian civilization. There is a popular belief, founded on the mission of Palladius from Rome by Pope Celestine, in 431, that to the missionaries of Rome the

* Scotia was then, and for long after, the usual name of Ireland. Scotland was then known as Caledonia or Albania.

Irish people owe their conversion to the Christian faith. That nothing can be more erroneous we most fearlessly assert; and in proof of the assertion, subjoin the testimony of two most eminent historians of the Romish Church; assuredly of great importance to the subject when coming from such a source. The Abbé MacGeoghegan, in his History of Ireland, says that "indeed it is not surprising that the Gospel should have been introduced at an early period into this island . . . . there were Christians in Ireland in the first century, long before the mission of St. Patrick, . . . in the third century . . . some had preached the Gospel in the different Pagan countries in Europe." Dr. Lanigan, in his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, writes:—"It is, however, universally admitted that there were Christian congregations in Ireland before the mission of Palladius, which took place in 431, of which, were there no other proof, the testimony of Prosper forms sufficient evidence. For in his chronicle of that year, he says that Palladius was sent to the Scots *believing in Christ*,* that is, as he informs us elsewhere, to the Scots living in Ireland. But how or by whom the Christian faith was first introduced into this country, it is impossible to determine."

When it is remembered that, at the beginning of the Christian era, the coasts of Ireland, as well as Britain, were resorted to by the farfamed Phœnician and other traders; that the inhabitants of Britain and Ireland were of the same race and speaking substantially the same language; that Britain received the light of Christian teaching in the first, or at the latest, the second century; and that the ardent zeal of the early Christians spurned all boundaries, and was undaunted by any difficulties;—we must assent to the general testimony of the earliest writers on the subject, that possibly in the first, but certainly in the second century, Christianity had won its way and was exerting its blessed power in the "Green Isle of the West."

Taking, then, the second century as the starting-point of our survey of the history of Christianity in Ireland, its *first period*, extending from the second to the latter end of the fifth century, might be termed *an age of conquest.*

Its *second period*, extending from the fifth to the beginning of the ninth century, might be called *an age of progress.* And its *third period*, reaching from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century, will shew itself to be *an age of decline.*

* The words of Prosper's Chronicle referred to by Lanigan are "*ad Scotos in Christum credentes.*

It is not by any means asserted that these periods mark off with chronological precision these several ages of the history of our subject; it will be found that the boundary lines are anything but mathematically straight, and one period will sometimes encroach upon another, and in its turn be encroached upon; but still there is such a natural grouping of events as to render such a division of our subject helpful as well as convenient.

What was the state of society in Ireland when the first preachers of the Christian faith began their mission? In one respect it seems to have been comparatively peaceful. Recent strife and tumult had subsided, and though the period of subsidence was brief, yet it afforded a quiet field wherein the seed of the Gospel might be sown, take root, and grow. As to the state of civilization generally,—how far advanced, or of what character,—we have no very certain evidence. Some famous antiquarians claim for this period a wonderfully high degree of civilization, and, indeed, of learning, but their theories cannot be said to have been proven. The men and women who then inhabited Ireland must have spent their lives in very different pursuits from those of the present. The "struggle for life," common to all races and ages of humanity, must in their case have led to the pursuits of hunting, fishing, and agriculture of a simple kind. This would be nearly the sum of their daily work, varied only by intestine strife and tumult, and the "horrid alarm of war." The dress "of the period" must have been of a primitive character, differing not a little from the fashion of this year of grace, 1871.

Nevertheless, even in Pagan times, Ireland seems to have been far in advance of other nations of the West. At all events there is evidence of the existence of a rude kind of literature, and of settled forms of government. Occasionally we hear of relics of these past ages being disentombed and brought forth to the light of latter days. Bronze and even gold ornaments, inscriptions in the ancient Ogham characters, which, when translated, in no single instance display the slightest indication that Christianity was known to those by whom they were cut into the enduring stone, form some of the links in the chain of evidence relied upon to prove the existence of a certain degree of pre-Christian, though in a sense barbaric, civilization. Indeed there is a very general concurrence of testimony amongst archæologists on this subject. Some of these appeal to the fact that the ancient Irish alphabet consisted of sixteen letters, bearing the names of sixteen trees or shrubs, all of which were indigenous to the country; and

conjecture (as was the case with Camden and Spenser), that to this alphabet the Anglo Saxons were indebted for their knowledge of letters. Others refer to the ancient chronicles and still popular traditions which mention the scenes of courtly assemblage in far-famed "Tara's halls," when the kings and chiefs, and Druid priests and bards, held council concerning national affairs. There is one fact, corroborative of this view, which ought not to be overlooked, and that is that there are no records of martyrdom connected with the early Christianity of Ireland. It has no "book of martyrs." In other countries where the Gospel found its way it generally met with the opposition of physical force, and amid such persecution many of its most faithful witnesses were called to seal the truth with their blood; but Ireland has no martyrology. And yet this need never be alleged as a reproach to the early church, if we assume, not without reason, that the first preachers of Christianity found a people partially prepared for their message, not so ready to employ the weapons of persecution as of argument, and not altogether sunk in savage ignorance and barbarity.

But with all possible admissions concerning the state of the country, its moral condition was certainly a sad one, and Christianity won a true conquest, here as elsewhere, when the fierce and proud tribes of Erin submitted to the yoke of Christ. The Druidic priesthood had full sway over the people, and the Druidic religion, though in some respects superior to the forms of idolatry prevailing in other countries, was yet a system of gross and debasing superstition. Though in all the religious systems of our race, however widely divergent, there may be found traces of the primeval faith of the patriarchal ages prior to the general dispersion, yet between the Druidism of our ancestors, and the practices and superstitions into which the Eastern nations lapsed after the selection of the Abrahamic family, there is a very marked similarity. Some of the features of correspondence are strikingly suggestive. In the earliest ages there seems to have been, in all or most of the places of worship, a reference to the lost Paradise from whose happy bowers sin had driven man. Hence in the descriptions of such places we meet with the "garden," or "grove," or some such allusion to the scene of man's primeval purity and subsequent fall. "Abraham planted a grove in Beersheba, and called there upon the name of the Lord, the everlasting God."* Now, the Druidic worship was always performed in the open

* Genesis xxi. 33. See also xxxv. 8, and Joshua xxiv. 26.

air, and generally within the shadow of an oak grove; it was considered wrong to worship the gods within walls or under roofs.

Stone pillars or altars are the subjects of frequent mention in connection with ancient worship. We might cite the case of Moses, who "rose up early in the morning, and builded an altar under the hill, and twelve pillars, according to the twelve tribes of Israel."* The manner in which such memorials or temples were erected seems to have been that an altar of more than one stone was placed in the centre of a circle of other stones.† The Druids have left behind them many such memorials. Scattered over the country, these monuments of antiquity may be found, the objects of wonder, and sometimes of veneration, by the people of the land.‡

The nations of the east worshipped a deity under the name of Baal or Bel, and as the representative of this deity (or as itself divine), the sun became the object of adoration. Syria and Palestine abounded with places set apart for sun worship. Fire, also, as the local symbol of divinity, was a present and tangible object of worship, doubtless at first in the absence of the sun, and then, as his proper emblem, at all times. "The Baal of the Phenicians, the Bel of the Assyrians . . . were developments of the one original sun-god . . . the source of life and power."§ The traditions which the ancient Irish inherited from their eastern progenitors, fostered by intercourse with eastern traders, would familiarize them with their form of worship, and hence it is not surprising that such was the character of the Druidic worship. A festival called Lha Baal-tinne (the day of the Baal-fire), was anciently celebrated about the first of May, and all fires being put out, were permitted to be re-kindled only when the sacred fire on the hill of Tara was lighted. To this day there exists a vestige of this observance in the lighting of fires at Midsummer (St. John's Eve), through which cattle are sometimes driven to prevent sickness, brands from which are frequently preserved as sacred. The names of many ancient monuments attest the fact of sun

* Exodus xxiv. 4. † See Deuteronomy xxvii. et seq. Joshua iv.

‡ We have seen numerous examples of these stone altars. At Glanworth, near Fermoy, there is a huge monument of this kind, the great altar stone of which is seventeen feet long, about half as broad, and three feet thick. In the neighbourhood of Cloyne (co. Cork), there is another of these altars, the huge sloping stone of which is fourteen feet long by twelve wide, and four thick. It is supported upon two ponderous stones, and beside it lie two smaller ones in the same sloping position.

§ Professor Porter.

worship amongst the ancient Irish. To take one instance—the name of the altar at Cloyne, before alluded to, is "Carrig Grioth," or the "Rock of the Sun."

This system of worship it was which Christianity had to conquer, and in doing so to oppose one of the most powerful orders of an ancient priesthood—the Druids. These priests were often bards as well, and not only imparted their doctrines to their disciples, but enshrined in living song the stories of their time. For they were powerful in speech, and they had wonderful influence over the nation. The words of Sir Walter Scott, when speaking of the bards of later times, might fitly apply to them :—

> "Rokeby's lords had fair regard
> For the harp and for the bard ;
> Baron's race throve never well
> Where the curse of minstrel fell."

It would be interesting to discover whose voice first broke the silence of Erin's fields and groves with the glad tidings of the Gospel; who first planted the standard of the Cross upon her hills, and called her pagan sons and daughters to the faith of Christ. But the discovery is impossible—nor need we wonder that it is, when the origin of some of the most famous churches of Christendom is hidden in impenetrable obscurity. As we have already intimated, there is no reasonable foundation for the conjecture of some writers that Apostolic hands themselves unfurled the Gospel banner, and that Apostolic tongues proclaimed the news of salvation. It is not likely that either St. Paul or St. James ever reached the shores of Ireland, but far more probable that some comparatively obscure and unknown, but earnest, witnesses for Christ were instrumental in shedding forth the first rays of Gospel light upon the pagan darkness of the land. Earthly fame they have not—the stream of oblivion has washed away every record of their names and memories—but their record is on high—their crown of glory incorruptible.

It is not until the 4th and 5th centuries that we find authentic mention of any prominent teachers or preachers of the Christian faith. There are four names which make special mark as Christian missionaries about this period—Declan, Ailbe, Kieran, and Ibar. These are mentioned by Abbé MacGeoghegan as "the four precursors of St. Patrick." The first-named, Declan, had as the scene of his labours that part of the country now known as the county Waterford, and his grave is still pointed out almost at the foot of the famous round tower,

and beneath the shadow of the old ruined church of Ardmore. The other three names are also associated with many time-honoured spots, renowned for peculiar sanctity; and traditions of their Christian labours yet linger amongst the peasantry in these localities.

One may ask—how did these early teachers and missionaries go about their work? Why, they preached, of course; they gathered the poor pagan Irish around them, and told them that each one of them had an immortal soul in him, and that through Christ that soul might be saved from ruin. They taught the children, and trained up the youths in the faith of Jesus. And when they would build their simple and primitive churches, to avail themselves of what of awe or reverence there might be in the minds of the poor heathen around them, they got possession of the very places where Druid priests had offered sacrifice, and dedicated these to Christian worship. Whether rightly or wrongly, these early preachers thought that this would be the most effectual way to supplant the Druidic superstition, and to direct the minds of the people to a higher and a purer faith. And this custom continued in the early Irish Church for many years afterwards. Evidence of it may be found in the very names which are in daily use.*

But hitherto the conquests of Christianity in Ireland had been very partial. The various preachers to whom we have referred were nobly doing their work, but it was merely in the locality in which each was placed that any appreciable success was attained. There had not appeared as yet anything like a complete national submission to the Christian faith. It was in this state of affairs that Pope Celestine sent Palladius (as before mentioned), to the Irish Christians, for the purpose of establishing a connection between them and the see of Rome. The mission of Palladius was a thorough failure, as is admitted by Roman Catholic writers, one of whom remarks that "a man can receive nothing except it be given him from heaven." In a few months after his arrival, the Romish emissary was obliged to leave the country, and died in Scotland as he was making his way back to Rome. There seems no more natural way of accounting for the rejection of Palladius and his mission by the Irish Churches than to suppose that he came as an intruder into churches, which had no connection with the

* See "Irish Names of Places," by P. W. Joyce, M.R.I.A. Such names as "Derry," from "Doire-agh"—"the field of oaks;" "Durrow," from the same, and "Kildare" from "Kil-doire"—the church of the oaks,—illustrate this point.

Roman authority; and that they would not receive him as the delegate of a foreign and domineering church.

Almost coincident, however, with the arrival of Palladius, and certainly with very different results, was the arrival of one who was the first to succeed in giving such an impulse to the spread of Christianity that it soon obtained universal dominion over the land. This was he who is commonly called "St. Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland." Palladius came to Ireland (according to Prosper's Chronicle), in the year 431; Patrick, as a Christian missionary, landed on its shores in 432. The history of Patrick is, it must be admitted, mixed up with much that is fabulous and uncertain, owing to the compositions of monkish biographers, who, in each succeeding age, outdid their predecessors in the miraculous and monstrous. But when it is borne in mind that not even the lives of the Apostles have been exempted from this treatment, we need not look upon the life of Patrick as a mere myth. Behind the mists and clouds of fable and romance there is the solid mountain of truth and reality. The impression which Patrick has made upon Irish national history is too deep and lasting to have been produced by the hero of an idle and silly legend. According to the testimony of the best authorities, Patrick was born at Boulogne, in the year 387; but as it is said that seven cities contended for the honour of being the birthplace of Homer, so, in like manner, many places claim the honour of being the birthplace of Patrick. The contest of the claim has been narrowed between Kilpatrick on the Clyde, and Boulogne-sur-Mer, and the weight of evidence seems in favour of the latter. The "Confession of Patrick" informs us that his father was a deacon, named Calpurnius, and that his mother, named Conchessa, was a sister of the famous Martin of Tours. When sixteen years of age, he, with many others, was taken captive, in one of the piratical excursions of the Irish King Nial (or Neill) of the Nine Hostages, and was sold as a slave to a chief in the county of Antrim. Here, for six years, chiefly spent in the tending of sheep, he remained in bondage. Like most captives he longed to taste the sweets of liberty, and earnestly sought for deliverance. But in the midst of his trouble he came to the knowledge of himself, and was brought into the enjoyment of liberty from the slavery of sin. He says—"In a strange land the Lord hath brought me to a sense of my unbelief, as that, although late, I minded me of my sins, and turned with my whole heart unto the Lord my God." How like the experience of one who said, hundreds of years before,—"I thought on my ways, and turned my feet unto thy testimonies."

Effecting his escape to France, and rejoining his friends, he proceeds to the college of Tours, there to study under his maternal uncle, Martin. Being strongly impressed that he should go as a missionary to Ireland, and having seen in a vision or dream, one who presented him with a scroll, containing "The Voice of the Irish," he labours earnestly to prepare himself for the work, and after visiting several important places of learning he sets sail, with a few companions, for the land of his former captivity. Landing in Ireland he at once commences his mission, which is greatly owned of God, and moving through the country as on a march of triumph, though not without persecution and trial, he makes his way, with a few chosen followers, to the capital and seat of royalty, the famous Tara. Here he rests and lights a fire. But it is the time of the pagan festival of "Lha-Baal-tinne" (the day of the Baal-fire), and no fire must be lighted till the sacred fire upon the altar of Tara hill shall have been kindled by the Druid priests. Patrick having, wittingly or unwittingly, disobeyed this command, is summoned before the king and court, and the Druids. Undaunted by their threatenings, he, with apostolic boldness and zeal, preaches to them the Gospel of Christ, until, at least silenced, if not convinced, they permit him to go forth and preach the Christian faith. And now, throughout the land (and we hear of him in almost every part of it), he is successful. Druidic superstition flees before the light of the Gospel, converts are made in great numbers, churches are planted on every side, preachers and pastors are trained for their holy work, the scholar and the poet appear in the land, Christianity pervades all classes of society, and even the kings and chiefs of the time come to profess the faith of Jesus.

At length the closing scene of Patrick's life draws nigh, and, retiring to a favourite spot in the county of Down—which had been the scene of his earliest Gospel labours—he awaits the final summons. In the quiet of life's evening twilight, he reviews the dealing of God with him, and writes, for the comfort and edification of his converts, his "Confession," and on the seventeenth of March, 465, he "ceased from his labours and entered into rest."

His "Confession" forms the truest and noblest epitaph of the man, and, as its authenticity is unquestioned by either Protestants or Roman Catholics, it is a fit standard of appeal as to the question whether Patrick had any connexion with, or derived his commission from, the See of Rome. And, certainly, in this document there is not the slightest evidence

that Patrick ever visited Rome on any occasion, or for any purpose whatever, or that he either sought or obtained the Roman authority. Nowhere does he refer to papal power, while everywhere he alludes to the fact that his call to preach in Ireland was from the Lord and the Lord only. Search will be made in vain for any of the dogmas peculiar to the Roman Church. The great evangelical doctrines will be found plainly stated, the Scriptures treated with reverence, and appealed to as the only authority.

About the time of Patrick's death Christianity in Ireland might be said to have entered upon its age of progress. This period extends from the fifth to the beginning of the ninth century. At first sight, it may seem somewhat surprising that historians generally concur in saying that there is little of interest to record during this period, or at least during the greater portion of it. But the reason is, that it does not furnish much of the material of which histories in general have been made. It was Milton who said that "history is little more than the record of a battle between kites and crows;" and such history would have found but little to note in Ireland at the time to which we refer. There is little record of war and bloodshed, for it was comparatively a time of peace. The men of that age went on their way, quietly it may have been, but not the less surely; if not with the hurrying rush of the turbid and seething waters, yet perchance with the noiseless sweep and tidal flow of the mighty river rolling to its ocean home. For it was to science and learning, to truth and virtue, to the religion of Jesus Christ, a time of progress indeed, and to the early Irish churches a time of great peace and joy. Druidism, as the prevailing religion, had become a thing of the past; for, though some might still cling to their pagan traditions, and others give but a partial adherence to the Gospel, yet, in general, Christianity had supplanted the Druidic worship.

We have intimated that during the greater part of this period, Ireland was free from the ravages of war. The providence of God had so guided, that she was the only spot in Western Europe where learning could flourish undisturbed, and religion find a peaceful home. But it is ever so in the history of God's rule over the nations of the earth. "Contemporary with the shadows of death on some spots, there are flushes of life over others. It is with the religious as with the physical and national, while in England we suffer with Christmas frost, they in Australia are basking in summer sunshine; and when Nineveh and Persepolis were become waste, Athens was in meridian glory, and Rome was rising into Empire. While

autumn tinges the woods of Canada, spring is blushing in Pacific isles; and when Spain was in the yellow leaf, America was putting forth her new-found life. So the circle of spiritual seasons has followed the natural and the political. Contemporary with the waning of piety in Antioch, was its waxing in Milan. When the churches of Alexandria and Carthage were sinking into the decrepitude of formalism, the churches of Gaul were battling the vices of imperial civilization, and the rudeness and disorder of barbarism. The era of the early growth of Rome's impious pretensions was the era of Ireland's light and life, holiness and beauty. While Mahomet was God's avenger on Syria and Egypt, the monks of Iona were studying their Bible, and Scotch (Irish) missionaries were crossing the Anglo-Saxon border, and entering the heart of Germany."*

The state of Europe at this time was one of tumultuous disorder. Even just across the channel the Anglo-Saxons were ravaging the provinces of Britain, which the departure of the Romans had left an easy prey. On the Continent the Roman Empire was declining, and the vast tide of northern hordes was sweeping on to cover it with destruction. The ruin came at last. All Europe was in commotion, and all seemed rushing on toward the plains of Italy. For years on years the mighty waves had surged against the Alpine barrier, which at last proved futile to resist them, and dashing over and through the mountain passes, they reached the very gates of Rome, and, rebounding, flooded the whole of the dying empire. The picture of Europe at the time is one of tumult and terror. When the northern inundation had, so to speak, subsided, nothing but a vast, arid wilderness met the view. Yet, like an oasis in the desert waste, the "Green Isle of the West" lifted up her fair bosom and gave promise of hope to the world. There are in Ireland lakelets lying amid the encircling hills, which, though the tempest may howl around her rugged coasts, and though the storm-wind should lash the ocean into fury, are yet calm and undisturbed; though, standing on their shores, we may hear the distant surging upon the rocky cliffs, which shoot out into the broad Atlantic wave, yet no storm ever ruffles their placid depths; they sleep in the bosom of their native mountains, and while all else is in tempest they are at peace. It was even so with Ireland, amid the general tumult of the nations, at this period of her history. And further on, when the Roman Empire had fallen, and the northern tribes were revelling amongst its wasted treasures, or settling down upon the place where

* Stoughton's "Ages of Christendom before the Reformation"—p. 431.

once it stood; the fierce and fiery Huns in Rome herself—the Vandals and the Lombards in the fair provinces of Italy—the Goths in Germany—and the Franks in "the sunny land of France;" when, out of the seething mass of blood, and riot, and terror, new nations were forming themselves; even then the angel of peace still spread her shadowing wings over Ireland, and the conqueror's foot had not rested on her soil.

Ireland shared not in the general commotion, because she never was a part of the Roman Empire. Though Britain had bowed beneath the Roman's conquering sword, yet that sword had never waved over Irish soil. The bravest soldiers amongst the Northern Britons in their hostile incursions against the Roman power, were Irishmen, who had gone to help their kinsmen, the Picts, and who returned to tell their brothers at home, that the proud legions of Rome had been driven back over the border. But this was all that Ireland ever knew of the conquering eagles of the South. She was as free then as the other nations were in bondage. She was as free then, nationally, as she became spiritually enslavedsince.

The learning of the day then was centred in Ireland. She became a refuge for the weary scholar, driven by the terrors of war from his European home. Thither went men from France and Germany, and Italy itself, to learn from the Irish teachers. The educational institutions of the time were certainly very important and influential. Christianity in Ireland, as indeed generally, was attended by her handmaid—education. At Armagh, Cork, Durrow, Clonard, and Lismore were colleges, or universities, or great schools, which represented many such scattered over the land. They were poor in this world's wealth, at least in their earlier days; they had no regal endowments for their assistance then; but they became, nevertheless, a mighty power for good. The were not the retreats of "learned leisure" either; the monks, as they are called, practised and taught the arts of agriculture as well as the secrets of science, and sometimes hardly earned their daily bread. No lazy friars were they; they toiled hard for their own subsistence, and that they might have somewhat to give the strangers within their gates. They tilled the soil, they sowed, they planted, they reaped, and fields once devastated by war and strife were now waving with the yellow corn. Knowledge was dispensed freely. The teaching of these Irish scholars was as readily given as it was anxiously sought. The sons of the rich and great would come from distant lands to study in this great "university of the west." Ireland heartily welcomed the strangers to her shores, told them what she

knew, and became celebrated throughout the world for her hospitality, piety, and zeal. It is told that one day about the middle or end of the ninth century, there came a youth to be instructed by the Irish teachers. He was greedy for all knowledge, and when he had learnt the lessons of religion as well as of science, and knew "the way of God more perfectly," he returned to his own land and lived a brave and noble life, adorning the throne of a brave and noble nation, and giving to posterity a legacy of glory which has not yet become dim, as it shines around the name of "Alfred the Great."

All the great writers of history concur in bearing testimony to the value and influence of these Irish schools. Men of very different opinions about other things unite in this. Niebuhr and Mosheim; Schlegel and Dr. Johnson; Thierry and Hallam; Cousin and Macaulay; will all bear witness that the Green Isle had become, to use the words of Gorres, "the winter quarters" of civilization in those hard and troublesome times.

Of course, religion flourished, for it was to religion that the learning of the time owed its existence and perpetuation. Churches were multiplied; preachers and pastors abounded on every side—men of simplicity and zeal—and they became mighty in their holy work. There was still much work to be done even in Ireland, for when Patrick died, though most of the land was Christianized, yet not all so. Perhaps the nation had changed its faith too suddenly for the effects to be true and lasting. At all events work was to be done, and it was being done. Many of these men are spoken of as "bishops;" but we shall greatly mistake if we attach to this word any such idea as it would express at the present day. What was the difference? Why, for one thing they were exceedingly numerous. Patrick himself is said to have appointed more than 360 of them. They abounded in England in the seventh century. It is said there were twenty-seven of them in Meath alone. And so far as we can see there seems to have been but little distinction, if any, between presbyter and bishop—certainly the work of each was very much the same. Call them what we will, they seem to have been faithful, earnest preachers of our common faith, and, as such, worthy of all due honour.

The chief evidences of the true vitality of the Irish Churches at this period will be found in their missionary spirit and labours. These enterprises were truly remarkable. Perhaps there is to be found no more remarkable type of the Irish missionary of this period than the celebrated Columba or Columbkill. Born of a royal line, away among the highlands

of Donegal, we find him even in the days of youth eminent for piety and learning. After studying in several of the famous Irish schools, he emerges again into view as a powerful preacher of the Gospel, founds the church of Doiremagh (Derry), that at Durrow, and at length with a band of zealous and devoted followers, sets sail for Scotland, to preach to the Pictish tribes the unsearchable riches of Christ. Heathen darkness had brooded over this people, while the glorious light of the Gospel shone in Ireland. But a joyful ray of that light had now reached them. Columba and his associates settled in the island of Iona, where they built their church and school, founding a great missionary institute, which became as Dr. Johnson says, "the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefit of knowledge and the blessings of religion. . . . . That man is little to be envied, whose patriotism would not glow in the plains of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer amid the ruins of Iona." Here the arts of agriculture were followed, learning was eagerly sought, the Scriptures were transcribed, and earnest missionaries came forth to evangelize surrounding districts. Columba was a man eminent for piety, constant in prayer, peaceful and patient in disposition, fearless of danger, and mighty in the word of God. After a long and laborious life, this faithful missionary, breathing out prayers for his beloved associates and disciples, passed away to rest. Looking back upon the history of that age, it may safely be said, that no more remarkable figure is seen against the horizon of the past, than that of the great and good missionary of Iona.

It was through the instrumentality of his successors (who were called Culdees), that Christianity was diffused throughout the south of Scotland, and fully the northern half of England. It was Aidan, a missionary from the school of Columba, who became the apostle of northern England.* He seems to have been a man of much the same spirit as his great predecessor, Columba, and "what above everything else commended his doctrines to all was, that he and his followers lived in no other way than he taught."† With the Anglo-Saxon King, Oswald, as his interpreter, until he was more fully acquainted with the

* Dr. Hook says that "the northern half of Britain was indebted for its conversion to Christianity, not to Augustin and the Italian mission, but to the Celtic missionaries, who passed through Bernicia and Deira into East Anglia, Mercia, and even Wessex."

† Bede.

Anglo-Saxon tongue, he preached the Gospel with success.* In different parts of the Continent, Irish missionaries were prosecuting with zeal and earnestness their hallowed work. One of the most famous of these was Columbanus (who must not be confounded with Columba), from Bangor in the county Down. He laboured in France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, and for about twenty-five years, in the midst of persecution and difficulty, bore faithful witness for the truth. His name is represented to this day in the town of San Columbano. Then there was Gall, the disciple and companion of Columbanus, whose name is likewise commemorated, in the Swiss Canton and capital of that name; Killian, of Franconia; Albinus, of Pavia; Virgilius, of Saltzburg; and Donatus, of Fiesole; all of whom, with many others that might be named, were distinguished for learning and piety, for reverential acquaintance with Scripture, and for true missionary zeal.

It will be seen that we have hitherto, and on good grounds, regarded the Early Irish Church as perfectly independent of the Roman power; for as Ireland never was politically under the power of Rome, neither was she, up to this time, under her spiritual yoke. There is no evidence whatever, of an authentic nature, that the Irish Church was subject to Papal rule, while there is an overwhelming mass of proof to shew that it was entirely independent. Did space permit we might shew, *seriatim*, that the peculiar doctrines of the Romish Church found no favour in Ireland; but it may suffice to adduce, upon the general question, the testimony of three church historians or writers, Bede, Bernard, and Mosheim. Bede writes,—"Being beyond the reach of the decrees of synods . . . . they could learn only those things which are contained in the writings of the Prophets, Evangelists, and the Apostles." Bernard, in his "Life of Malachy," speaks of the Irish as "schismatics and heretics, and in reality pagans while calling themselves Christians;" and why? Because, amongst other things, they "were either ignorant of, or did neglect, the most wholesome use of Confession and the Sacrament of Confirmation." "They rejected auricular confession as well as authoritative absolution." Mosheim, writing of the ninth century remarks:—"The Irish, who in the eighth century were known by the name of Scots, were the only divines who

* Fuller alludes to this (vol. i., p. 122)—"When Aidan came first into England he was not perfect in the language of our country; wherefore, King Oswald, a better Irishman (as bred among them), than Aidan was an Englishman, interpreted to the people what the other preached unto them."

refused to dishonour their reason by submitting it implicitly to the dictates of authority. Naturally subtle and sagacious, they applied their philosophy to the illustration of the truths and doctrines of religion, a method which was almost generally abhorred and exploded in all other nations."

The *protesting* conduct of some of the Irish missionaries before the name of Protestant was known, ought not to be overlooked. One or two instances will suffice. The first has reference to Colman, the successor of Aidan and Finan in the Northumbrian mission, of which Lindisfarne or Holy Isle was the head establishment.

In the end of the sixth century, Augustin and forty other monks landed in England, whither they had been sent by Pope Gregory I., on a mission to the Anglo-Saxons. As the faith which they preached was associated with the growing corruptions and assumptions of the Papal power, they were brought into frequent collision and controversy with the British Christians who had been converted through Irish instrumentality, and who acknowledged no subjection to Rome. Most of these controversies had reference ostensibly to matters which might be considered unimportant, having more to do with discipline than doctrine; but in reality they touched the greater question as to whether the Irish Church, its missionaries and their converts, should become subject to Rome, or remain free and independent. And they chose the latter. This independence was evinced at a discussion held in the year 664, at Whitby, presided over by Oswy, King of Northumbria, at which Rome was represented by Wilfrid, who had been trained there; and the British and Irish Churches by Colman, of Lindisfarne. When Oswy sided with the Romish party, and it was seen in what direction the tide of affairs would flow, Colman, with thirty followers faithful to their principles, retired to Ireland, where he spent the remainder of his days.

Another remarkable instance is furnished in the conduct of Columbanus, who is spoken of by a Roman Catholic writer as the "dauntless reprover of pontiffs and kings." Being persecuted and annoyed by Romish bishops in his work upon the Continent—because, as they alleged, he violated in many respects "the Canons"—he writes to them a letter in which occurs this passage:—"For our canons are the commands of our Lord and His Apostles; these are our faith; lo! here are our arms, shield, and sword; these are our defence; these have brought us hither from our fatherland; these we strive to keep even here; in these we pray and desire to persevere even unto death, as we have seen our elders also do." And in 613, in an

epistle to Pope Boniface IV., he says:—"We (the Irish) are the followers of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all those disciples who by divine inspiration have written the Sacred Canon of Scripture; we, whose dwelling is at the ends of the earth, receive nothing beyond the teaching of the Evangelists and the Apostles."

Thus not only in Ireland and Britain, but, thundering at the very gates of Rome itself, the voices of these Irish "Reformers before the Reformation" were heard loudly protesting against the stealthily encroaching power of Rome. The church which produced a succession of men like these, contrasted strongly with the domineering Church of the Papacy. In the one, there was internal corruption and decay; in the other, life, beauty, and fruitfulness; in the one, pride, worldliness, and lust of power; in the other, humility, peace, and love; in the one, growing formalism and superstition; in the other, true worshippers were worshipping "the Father in spirit and in truth." Ireland had not yet spiritually, even as she had never politically, bowed to the dominion of Rome.

But as we study the history of Early Christianity in Ireland, we must yield the mournful admission, that it had, succeeding its periods of conquest and progress, its age of decline.

The first of the causes which conspired to bring about the decline of the Irish Church, by interrupting its progress, and breaking rudely in upon its tranquility, was the invasion of the Danes. Though Ireland had escaped the eagles of the South, she was doomed to be for three hundred years the prey of the ravens of the North. The Irish Annals abound in references to the miseries and commotions which the country endured from the ravages of these wild and rapacious freebooters. When they had been driven from the coasts of Western and Southern Europe by the strong powers which were now settled on what had once been the Roman Empire, they turned their attention to the British Isles, and in 795 made their first appearance off the north-east coast of Ireland, and in this instance confined their work of pillage to the immediate locality where they landed. In a short time, however, they returned, and extended the area of their depredations. In 815, their various bands being united under the leadership of Turgesius, the son of Harold, of Norway, they obtained a lodgment on the coasts of the country, and exercised for many years a tyrannous sway over its inhabitants. Nothing could exceed the fierceness with which these Gâlls (or strangers)—as they are called in Irish Annals—attacked and destroyed everything connected with Christianity, whether

monuments of art and architecture, or valuable records and manuscripts, all of which would otherwise have remained to attest the high state of civilization previously enjoyed. These worshippers of Thor and Odin, with the memory of wrongs inflicted on their kinsmen, the Saxons, rankling in their breasts, thought no sufferings too terrible, no cruelties too great to inflict upon those who bore the hated name of Christians. A reign of terror now existed in the land. The churches and schools, once the glory of the nation, were ruthlessly pillaged and destroyed. Even the lonely isle of Iona, the abode of sanctity and learning, did not escape their cruel ravages. Nothing daunted by the constant resistance of the Irish, the Norsemen, recruited by fresh supplies from their northern home, seemed only to make the greater havoc, and to strike the heavier blow. Life and property, if in Christian keeping, had lost all security, and the demon of war filled the breast of "the proud invader." Internal dissensions came, too, strengthening the hands of the foe, and weakening the resisting force of the nation, till it seemed as if never again to rise. But, whether for good or ill, the turning point came at last. First came the victories of Malachy, to one of which (in the year 994), the lines of Moore refer:—

> "Let Erin remember the days of old,
> Ere her faithless sons betrayed her;
> When Malachy wore the collar of gold,
> Which he won from the proud invader."

Then Brian Boru, having obtained supremacy over the country, and reigned in a period of comparative peace and order, is summoned forth from the quiet of his old age, to meet a strong army of Danes, who seemed gathering their forces from Denmark, Scandinavia, and Scotland, as if for a final and decisive struggle. They met on the plains of Clontarf on Good Friday, April 23, 1014.* The issue of the day was the complete defeat of the Danes and the destruction of their power; but Brian was slain, while praying in his tent at the close of the day, by a Danish General named Brodar, who was flying from the field.

It may be seen from the foregoing, that during three centuries of Danish devastation in Ireland, everything was

*The accuracy of this date has lately been curiously verified by the learned Professor Haughton, at the request of the late Rev. Dr. Todd. He calculated the time at which high water would occur at Clontarf on 23rd April, 1014, and found that it tallied exactly with the time at which the number of Danes, in their retreat, were overtaken by the tide and drowned.

most unfriendly to the growth, if not the very existence, of Christianity. For, while persecution has often been the means of rooting more firmly in the soil the faith of a nation, yet there is something so peculiar in the history of this fearful time, as to make us cease to wonder that Christianity emerged from the struggle greatly weakened in moral force, and with all the symptoms of decline.

But it must not be forgotten that while all these hostile influences were at work in Ireland, there was elsewhere a more silent, but quite as deadly, power making itself felt, and when the time and opportunity came, Ireland felt its withering and ruinous effects. The Papacy was rapidly extending its conquests, and soon England, and through her, Ireland, was to bow completely to its sway. Chiefly as the result of the reverses which they had suffered, the Danes professed submission to the Christian faith, and were allowed to settle themselves peaceably under their own kings in various parts of the country, particularly in Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford. Still retaining, however, their hostile feeling towards the Irish, they would have no church-fellowship with them. About this time the Normans became the conquerors of England, and the Danes sought intercourse with them in reference to the clergy by whom they were to be instructed, and the discipline by which they were to be guided. This was the door through which the Romish influence first found its way into Ireland. As soon as the monk Lanfranc, who had been promoted by William the Conqueror from an abbey at Caen to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, is installed in his new office, he is appointed by the Pope to communicate with the Irish and Danish kings. Both he and his successor Anselm addressed letters to these kings on the subject of complete uniformity with the Church of Rome. And Anglo-Norman monks, the emissaries of Rome, are appointed to bishoprics in Ireland, gradually yet surely diffusing the leaven of Papal corruption. And it begins to work. Gillebert becomes bishop of Limerick, and Papal legate in Ireland. Malachy of Armagh, through Anglo-Norman influence, becomes a zealous convert to the Roman views, and visits Rome to seek for a pall or cloak for his see of Armagh. Pope Innocent II. received him most graciously, of course, but as it was not the homage of individual leaders, however important, which was the object of Papal desire, he suggested to Malachy that a synod should be convened, and that the application for the pall should be the act of the Irish Church, and not of Malachy himself. The synod was convened at Holmpatrick in the year 1148, and Malachy,

at his own earnest request, was despatched for the pall. He died, however, at Clairvaux, on the journey. But in four years after (1152), John Paparo, the first cardinal who ever set foot in Ireland, came with not one, but four palls for the Irish archbishops. The Council of Kells was held on the 9th of March, and the process of enslaving the Irish Church was being fast completed.

But still the work of subjugation was not fully accomplished. The acts of the Council were not the acts of the whole Irish church, and it was doubtful whether even a real cardinal would succeed in his mission. But a more powerful agency was now to be employed, and one which could not fail at once to extend the power and replenish the coffers of the Roman Pontiff. This was what is commonly known as the English or Anglo-Norman invasion.

Pope Adrian IV (the first and only Englishman who ever occupied the Papal chair), issued a bull under his hand and seal, conveying to Henry II, of England, the right and title to the "Kingdom of Ireland," *on condition* that there should be the payment to St. Peter of a penny annually from every house in Ireland, and that he should reduce the church and people of Ireland to complete subjugation to the see of Rome. By some such right as his who said "All these will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me," Adrian, in his greatness, assumed that "Ireland belonged of right to St. Peter and the holy Roman Church." This bull was granted in the year 1155. But the time for its use had not yet arrived, and the affair was kept a comparative secret. When, however, the first opportunity for the successful employment of the English arms in Ireland had come, owing to the embroilments of the native kings, Henry's forces landed on the coast of Wexford in 1169. Henry came himself in 1171, and succeeded in subduing the Irish people. Now came the fulfilment of his engagement to the Roman pontiff. Adrian had gone the way of all flesh, but his successor, Alexander III, had confirmed his bull in a letter to Henry, in 1172. Henry assembles the clergy at the Council of Cashel in the same year, and these important documents are read, articles of union are entered into, and the Irish Church is assimilated so far to that of England, which at that time was in subjection to Rome. Not that the work was completely done at this synod. Doubtless it took considerable time, and some use of the sword, before the rest of the Irish Church submitted to the Anglo-Papal yoke. But it was done at last, and from the synod of Cashel in 1172 dates the establishment of Popery in Ireland.

It is surely important for Roman Catholics to remember, what

they sometimes seem to forget, that this was not by any means a Protestant, though an English invasion. It was an invasion by a Popish people, under a Popish king, and with the sanction and full authority (for a consideration), of the Roman pontiff.

Our work is almost done. It is not our business to trace the subsequent history of this fallen church. It has its history and its lessons too, but we leave them for the present. We are reminded, however, as we write, of the words of a Roman Catholic writer, which we feel it our duty to quote in full:—"There is something very singular in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The Christian Church of that country, as founded by St. Patrick and his predecessors, existed for many ages free and unshackled. It had no connection with England, and differed upon points of importance with Rome. The first work of Henry II. was to reduce the Church of Ireland into obedience to the Roman Pontiff. Accordingly he procured a Council of the Irish clergy to be held at Cashel in 1172, and the combined influence of Henry and the Pope prevailed. This Council put an end to the Ancient Church of Ireland, and submitted to the yoke of Rome. This ominous apostacy has been followed by a series of calamities hardly to be equalled in the world. From the days of Patrick to the Council of Cashel was a bright and glorious career for Ireland. From the sitting of this Council to our times, the lot of Ireland has been unmixed evil, and all her history a tale of woe."* These are remarkable words, but they are words of truth.

If there are lessons to be taught us by the pages of history, surely we see, from what has passed in review before us, that from the unfaithfulness of the churches of any land, there can follow nothing but national disgrace, suffering, and ruin. We see, also, that we ought never to yield tamely to the unfounded assumption that the apostate church of four-fifths of the Irish people to-day is the representative of the pure and ancient church of the land. Nor ought we to forget—and the lesson is important in the new, and we believe hopeful, era upon which the churches of Ireland have just entered—that Christianity has always succeeded, and will always succeed best, by reliance upon its accompanying spiritual and moral forces, and not by the help of state protection, which has so often proved a hindrance. If there is—as we unfeignedly believe there is—a power in the truth, stronger than all the power of error; a power in connexion with the Gospel of Christ which is mightier than the mightiest power of man; and if the churches of Ireland

* O'Driscoll's Views of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 84.

will only take hold of that power and with right manful efforts work for the good of the land, then we may look out upon the future with hope. True, the visions of that future may lie far beyond the reach of the eye of mere human reason, but they unveil themselves to the clear and fearless gaze of faith—faith in God's promises—faith in God's rule over the nations of the earth. Seven hundred years have passed away since the dark curtain of cloud fell upon the bright vision of the past, hiding the light of Erin's fair and radiant morning and promise from our view. In the shadow of that murky cloud many a fearful storm has raged during those seven centuries; and amid flashing lightning and pealing thunder men have often looked anxiously above and beyond, for light, and calm, and peace. The iron heel of oppression has often ground its victims to the dust; the dark shadows of war and strife have brooded over the land; the altars of spiritual tyranny have reeked with the blood of souls; fierce passions have had sway, and foul murder has dyed the greensward with the blood of her victims; gaunt famine with insatiate maw has devoured the lives of thousands and tens of thousands. Amid the dire distress the homestead has been desolated, and the family circle scattered,—some to remain in wretchedness and spiritual slavery—some to find a home of freedom far beyond the western wave. Few, and worn, and feeble, are the witnesses for God, and the lights of truth burn but dimly amidst the darkness. Watchers for the coming light, wearied with the long deferred hopes of years, are wellnigh yielding to despair—for still the dense, dark cloud broods over all. And is there no light, no hope? Yes! the clouds shall roll away, the light shall come! Light, from the presence of the great King of nations—light for darkened homes and desolate hearts—light for the trampled land where God's Word has been a forbidden book, and Christ's Gospel a forbidden sound—light for the men imprisoned in the dungeons of spiritual thraldom—light for all! "And it shall come to pass that at evening time there shall be light."

J. T.

Kingstown, Ireland.

ART. II.—TYERMAN'S LIFE AND TIMES OF WESLEY.

The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A., Founder of the Methodists. By the Rev. L. TYERMAN, author of "The Life and Times of the Rev. S. Wesley, M.A." Vols. 1 and 2. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870-1.

JUST eighty years ago, on the second of this month (March), Wesley died at the ripe age of eighty-seven. Bred a scholar, we might almost say a minister, he was ordained deacon when little over twenty-two, and priest when twenty-five; and very soon after, by a diligent and intensely earnest discharge of his clerical duties, he began to make full proof of his ministry. In this active course of life, so early commenced, he never relaxed. Not only was he steadfast and unmoveable, but likewise always abounding in the work of the Lord to which he had consecrated himself. He continued to preach to within a few days of his death, so that for more than three score years, with unexampled assiduity and with unexampled success, did he serve his generation by the will of God.

From 1791 to 1871 seems a long time to wait for a satisfactory record of the life and labours of such a man. Yet, till now, no such record has been given. Not that no lives of Wesley have been written and published. Besides almost innumerable sketches, there have been six regular biographies of him. They are thus characterized by Mr. Tyerman:—

"Hampson's, ready for the press when Wesley died, is extremely meagre, and was the work of an angry writer. Coke and Moore's, issued in 1792, was a hasty publication, written *currente calamo*, to get possession of the market; and, like most things done in haste, was exceedingly imperfect. Whitehead's, dated 1793-6, was composed in the midst of disgraceful contentions, and was tinged with party feeling. Southey's, printed in 1820, has literary charms, but, unintentionally, is full of errors, and, for want of dates and chronological exactitude, is extremely confusing. Moore's, published in 1824, is the fullest and most reliable; but, to a great extent, it is a mere reprint of Whitehead's given to the public about thirty years previously. Watson's, issued in 1831, was not intended to supersede larger publications, but was 'contracted within moderate limits, and' avowedly 'prepared with special reference to general readers.'"

The first four of the publications enumerated have long been out of print, and only Southey's and Watson's are still

on sale, a cheap edition of Southey's having lately been issued. For reasons, just stated, neither of these can be considered a life worthy of Wesley, and of the great work he accomplished. Besides, they add nothing, or very little, to our knowledge of the man. Indeed, of the whole, Mr. Tyerman says, "The Lives of Wesley that have been published during the last seventy-six years, have contained no additional information worth naming." And he justly adds:—

"In this interval, Wesley has yearly been growing in historic fame, until he is now, among all parties,—Churchmen, Methodists and Dissenters, Papists, Protestants, and infidels, statesmen, philosophers, and men of letters,—one of the greatest and most interesting studies of the age. The world wishes to know something more respecting the man, who, under God, was the means of bringing about the greatest reformation of modern times."

What may be known of him at the present day is given us in these goodly volumes. The information they contain has been collected from widely various sources, and is the result of seventeen years of inquiry and research. The author's own mass of original manuscripts is large, and he has had thousands of Methodist letters lent to him; while hundreds of publications issued in Wesley's lifetime, and bearing on the great Methodist movement, have been consulted, including magazines, newspapers, broadsheets, pamphlets, tracts, and songs. Use has also been made of many of Wesley's letters hitherto published only in periodicals, or in scarce books, and not a few that have never yet appeared in print.

"My greatest difficulty has been," the author says, "not the want of materials, but that of making selections, and of giving in a condensed form all that I thought important. Nothing, likely to be of general interest, has been withheld. Nothing, derogatory to the subject of these memoirs, has been kept back. Whatever else the work may be, it is *honest*."

"I have tried to make Wesley his own biographer. I have not attempted what may be called the *philosophy* of Wesley's life. I leave that to others. As a rule intelligent readers wish only to be possessed of facts. They can form their own conclusions, and care but little about the opinions of those by whom the facts are collected and narrated. The temptation to moralise has oft been great; but I have tried to practise self-denial. Wesley was not a *designing* man; cunning he had none; he was a man of one idea; his sole aim was to save souls. This was the philosophy of his life. All his actions had reference to this. He had no preconceived plans, and hence it is needless to speculate about his motives. The man is best known by what he *did*, not by what philosophers may suspect he *thought*.

Holding these opinions, my own object has been to collect, collate, and register unvarnished facts, and I hope I have not altogether failed."

This hope Mr. Tyerman need not be ashamed to express, for the verdict of his numerous readers will be that he has admirably succeeded; henceforth his production will be pre-eminently *the* Life of Wesley, and we question whether it will ever be superseded or rivalled by any subsequent biography, certainly not for the amplitude of its information, or the impartiality and faithfulness with which facts are given. The *times* of Wesley cannot well be dissociated from his life, as they mutually explain and illustrate each other. Cast on other times he would probably have been the same burning and shining light, but his zeal would have been turned into a different channel, and his stupendous labours have partaken of another character. So fully and vividly is the spiritual and moral condition of the country, during Wesley's life-time, depicted in these pages, that the reader finds the work a most excellent general religious history of the nation for the period; and for this purpose it will have great value as a book of reference. It commences with an introduction in which the author attempts to prove that Methodism is the greatest fact in the history of the Church of Christ. The life of Methodism's founder is therefore a subject well worth knowing. "Who was he? What was he? Who were his companions? When, and where, and how did he pass his time? We will try to show."

The first part of the memoir embraces the period from Wesley's birth to his thirty-fifth year, and is divided into five chapters respectively headed:—Wesley at Home, at School, and at College—Wesley's Ordination, &c.—Oxford Methodism, &c. —Mission to Georgia—Wesley in Transition. After this a separate chapter is devoted to each year of his life, and we are told what he did, what he suffered, and what he achieved year by year; while to each year is appended a list of his publications, with characteristic notices of them, and sometimes a summary of their contents. At the end of the third volume, which is not yet published, a general index is to be given.

We dare say most readers will be anxious to know, not so much how our author passes over well-trodden ground, and presents facts and occurrences with which they are familiar, but, whether he throws any new light on Wesley's character and life. Of his childhood little is said, because little is known, and imaginary pictures of him are properly left undrawn. The sum total that is known is that he was remarkable from early childhood for

his sober, studious, and devout disposition. He seemed to feel himself answerable to his reason and his conscience for everything he did, and would do nothing without first reflecting on its fitness and propriety; while such was his devotional feeling, and his consistency of conduct, that his father admitted him to the communion when he was only eight years old; and he himself informs us that, until he was about the age of ten, he had not sinned away that "washing of the Holy Ghost," which he received in baptism.

At the age of ten and a half years he was transferred from his father's house to the Charterhouse, London, and there had to pass through severe hardships, which he bore bravely. Owing to the cruelty practised by the elder boys upon him for a considerable part of the five years he spent there, the only solid food he got was bread. An anonymous story is told of him that he constantly associated with the inferior class, and was accustomed to harangue a number of the smaller boys surrounding him, and when interrogated by his master in private as to his reason for seeking the company of the boys of the lower forms, instead of the bigger boys who were his equals, he replied, "Better to rule in hell than to serve in heaven." This story was first given for the purpose of showing that Wesley, even as a boy, was ambitious. On which Mr. Tyerman appropriately remarks:—

"Be it so. What then? Is ambition always, and under all circumstances, a thing to be denounced? Ambition is widely different from vanity, a paltry passion of petty minds; neither is it necessarily accompanied with the use of improper means to attain its object. Ambition is common to the human species. There are but few without it, and who are not desirous of distinguishing themselves in the circle in which they live. You see the passion in the aristocratic noble toiling after a distinction which he desires to win; and you equally see it in the poorest mechanic, who strives to surround himself with poor admirers, and who delights in the superiority which he enjoys over those who are, in some respects, beneath him. Besides, as a rule, a man's ambition is always in correspondence with his other tastes, and faculties, and powers. Dr. Johnson wisely remarks, that 'Providence seldom sends any into the world with an inclination to attempt great things, who have not abilities likewise to perform them;' and Addison, an equally thoughtful student of human nature, observes 'Men of the greatest abilities are most fired with ambition; and, on the contrary, mean and narrow minds are the least fired with it.' To account for this may be difficult, but none will deny its truth. Perhaps the difference may be occasioned by a man's consciousness of his own capacities making him despair of attaining positions which others reach; or perhaps, which is more likely still, Providence, in

the very framing of his mind, has freed him from a passion, which would be useless to the world, and a torment to himself."

After this vindication of Wesley's honour and honest fame from the aspersion of his would-be detractors, we read a statement which causes us a little surprise. "We wish that this were the only thing to be alleged against him during his Charterhouse career. Unfortunately there is another fact more serious; for Wesley, while at this seat of learning, lost the religion which had marked his character from the days of infancy." Again, "John Wesley entered the Charterhouse a saint, and left it a sinner." The allegation is again made with regard to the first five years he spent at Oxford. "He said his prayers, and read good books, as perhaps most Oxford students did; but like others, he lived in sin, even habitually, except about thrice a year, when he was compelled to receive the sacrament." The phraseology of the latter part of this sentence is very unfortunate, for it implies that all Wesley's acts were sins save when he was partaking of the Lord's Supper. But surely that cannot be Mr. Tyerman's meaning. Nor are these statements allowed to pass without further repetition. "From the age of eleven to the age of twenty-two, Wesley made no pretensions to be religious, and, except on rare occasions, habitually lived in the practice of known sin." "Except the first ten years of his childhood, he was up to the age of twenty-two, by his own confession, an habitual, if not profane and flagrant sinner."

We submit that these strong expressions, and the repetition of them, are scarcely to be justified,—that a darker view is taken of Wesley's religious character than truth warrants or facts sustain. But by his own confession he was all that is alleged! Well, let us see what his confession literally was. "Outward restraints being removed, I was much more negligent than before, even of outward duties, and almost continually guilty of outward sins, which I knew to be such, though they were not scandalous in the eye of the world. However, I still read the Scriptures, and said my prayers morning and evening. And what I now hoped to be saved by was,—1. Not being so bad as other people. 2. Having still a kindness for religion. And 3. Reading the Bible, going to church, and saying my prayers." This applies to his life in the Charterhouse; in reference to his first years at Oxford he says: "I still said my prayers, both in public and private; and read, with the Scriptures, several other books of religion, especially comments on the New Testament. Yet I had not all this while so much as a notion of inward holiness; nay, went on habitually, and,

for the most part, very contentedly, in some or other known sin; though with some intermission and short struggles, especially before and after holy communion, which I was obliged to receive thrice a year." All this indicates that he may have fallen into a state of "religious carelessness," to use Watson's words, but, in our judgment, does not give evidence that he had "lost his religion," had become "a sinner," "had no pretensions to be religious," "was an habitual, if not profane and flagrant sinner." The very contrary of this is told us; he read the scriptures, said his prayers, both in public and private, and received at the appointed times the Lord's Supper,—and if we credit one part of his confession, we should equally credit the other. True, his letters, at this time, may be without religious sentiments, but they do not contain any irreligious ones, and it is hardly safe to say a young man has no religious sentiment unless he prominently parade it in his letters to his parents and friends. How many theological students in Methodist colleges at the present day would be pronounced religious, tried by this rule?

Revelations are given respecting Wesley's pecuniary embarrassments during the time he was at the Charterhouse, and his early years at Oxford, which will surprise many. He had till he obtained his fellowship to struggle with financial difficulty, and was not unfrequently in debt. Frequent reference is made to his impecuniosity and indebtedness in his home correspondence. In a hitherto unpublished letter, his mother says,—

"Dear Jack,—Let me hear from you often, and inform me of the state of your health, and whether you have any reasonable hopes of being out of debt. I am most concerned for the good generous man that lent you ten pounds, and am ashamed to beg a month or two longer, since he has been so kind as to grant so much time already.

Dear Jack, be not discouraged; do your duty; keep close to your studies, and hope for better days. Perhaps, notwithstanding all, we shall pick up a few crumbs for you before the end of the year.

Dear Jacky, I beseech Almighty God to bless thee.

SUSANNAH WESLEY."

Other letters, not before published, and "painfully interesting" because of their reference to this matter, are also given, and Mr. Tyerman deems it necessary to justify his publication of them, because they may be supposed to cast shadows on young Wesley's character. The defence, we hope, is not needed. All right-minded persons will want John Wesley painted as he was, from the earliest to the latest period of his life. And candid readers, we think, will not see very dark shadows cast upon Wesley by these letters, or that they sustain the author's

own charge against him,—that he thoughtlessly contracted debts greater than he had means to pay. His impecuniosity appears to us to have been as much, or more, his misfortune than his fault; and it is admitted by his biographer that his £40 per annum, which belonged to him as a Charterhouse scholar, with the utmost economy, was hardly sufficient to meet all the expenses of a young Oxford student.

Wesley's troubles in Georgia are fully gone into. "All the facts in the writer's possession shall be given, and the reader shall have materials to form his own opinion." Those who are curious to know all that can be said of this "miserable business" must go to the work itself. We give the substance of what Mr. Tyerman says relative to his connection with, and conduct towards, Sophia Christiana Hopkey.

"Wesley landed in Georgia on February 5, 1736, and seems at once to have become acquainted with Miss Hopkey. Oglethorpe, Charles Wesley, Ingham, and fifty other settlers set out immediately for Frederica. The young lady went with them; and, on March 22, Wesley wrote to his brother concerning her as follows: 'I conjure you, spare no time, no address or pains, to learn the true cause of the former distress of my friend. I much doubt you are in the right. God forbid that she should again, in like manner, miss the mark. Watch over her; keep her as much as possible. Write to me, how I ought to write to her.'"

"Miss Hopkey was a young lady of good sense, and elegant in person and manners. She was introduced to Wesley as a sincere inquirer after salvation, and soon took every possible opportunity of being in his company, and requested him to assist her in studying the French. Oglethorpe also did his best to help on a courtship. Meanwhile, Wesley was seized with fever, which confined him for nearly a week; and the young lady, who would hardly allow Delamotte to do anything for his friend, attended him night and day. She even consulted Oglethorpe what kind of female dress Wesley liked the best, and therefore came always dressed in white, neatly and simply elegant. Young Delamotte began to be suspicious, and asked Wesley if he meant to marry Miss Hopkey. Delamotte's question puzzled Wesley, but perceiving that Delamotte was prejudiced against the lady, he waived an answer. The next step taken was to consult David Nitschman, the Moravian bishop. Nitschman's answer was 'marriage is not unlawful, but whether it is now expedient for you, and whether this lady is a proper wife for you, ought to be maturely weighed.' Wesley's perplexity was increased, and he now resolved to submit the matter to the elders of the Moravian church. When he entered the house where they were met together, he found Delamotte in the midst of them. On naming his business, Nitschman said 'We have considered your case; will you abide by our decision?'

After some hesitation, Wesley replied, 'I will.' 'Then,' said Nitschman, 'we advise you to proceed no further in the matter.' Wesley answered, 'The will of the Lord be done!' From this time, says Henry Moore, he avoided everything that tended to continue the intimacy with Miss Hopkey, and behaved with the greatest caution toward her."

"The whole of this is painfully ludicrous. . . . Wesley was in love, and like all lovers, he did, not wicked, but foolish things . . . . Miss Hopkey was put under his ghostly care. She was one of his early morning congregation, and constantly went to his lodgings, in order to be further instructed. He fell in love with her; and there can be little doubt that he made proposals to marry her, and, if his own inclinations had been carried out, the marriage would have been completed." (This opinion is sustained by extracts from Wesley's unpublished journal.) "The disappointment was a most painful blow. Forty-nine years after he wrote, in reference to this event, 'I remember when I read these words in the church at Savannah, 'Son of man, behold, I take from thee the desire of thine eyes at a stroke.' I was pierced through as with a sword, and could not utter a word more. But our comfort is, He that made the heart can heal the heart.' He also wrote to his brother Samuel at the time, who replied, 'I am sorry you are disappointed in the match, because you are very unlikely to find another.'"

All candid readers will concur in the correctness of the following opinion on this case :—

"John Wesley was thirty-three years old, and was perfectly justified in seeking to obtain a wife; neither is there anything to be found fault with in his intercourse with Miss Hopkey, unless it was his silly simplicity in asking the opinion, if not consent, of the Moravians. The young lady, also, was beautiful, most accomplished, and, to all human appearance, pious. Her uncle was a respectable rascal; but that was no fault of hers. We know nothing to her prejudice before she became a wife, except that it might have been more decorously prudent if she had allowed Delamotte to nurse Wesley in his fever instead of doing it, day and night, herself; and that there was certainly an impetuous haste, not to be commended, in her marrying Mr. Williamson only four days after he first proposed to her. Excepting this, the friendship, courtship, or whatever else the reader likes to call it, between Wesley and his 'poor Sophy,' seems to have been pure, honourable, and, in the opinion of Oglethorpe, who was not ill qualified to judge, desirable."

An interval of thirteen years in the life of Wesley brings us from Miss Hopkey to Grace Murray. His courtship with the latter lady is considered at length by Mr. Tyerman, and the mystery in which it was once involved he has in a great measure cleared up. The curious in the matter must go to the

work itself for the information it supplies; we have only room for the author's judgment on the case: "This has been a painful exposure. Perhaps the writer will be blamed for giving details usually too delicate to be put in print; but it must be borne in mind that the whole of what is here related has been already published. Besides, up to a recent period, this episode in Wesley's history has been a puzzle to all his biographers. It has never been explained. Mystery has enwrapped it. Readers have been left in doubt who were the parties to be blamed. Now there can be no great difficulty in pronouncing judgment. John Wesley was a dupe—Grace Murray was a flirt—John Bennett was a cheat—Charles Wesley was a sincere, but irritated, impetuous, most officious friend."

In the main we think this judgment is correct, though given in language somewhat strong. John Wesley was not a dupe in the sense of being altogether sinned against. Hence it was afterwards said, "It was a huge imprudence to make her his travelling companion, first in the northern counties, and then, for months, in the sister island. All must admit his conduct throughout was honest and honourable, though, at the same time, foolish, and unworthy of his character and position." We are also inclined to believe that Mr. Tyerman is a little too severe on Grace Murray. Her veneration for Wesley was so great that an offer of marriage from him almost turned her head. "She seemed amazed, and said, 'This is too great a blessing for me; I can't tell how to believe it. This is all I could wish for under heaven,'" That was the saint speaking, but she was a woman as well as a saint, and she ultimately found that she could not expel the previous occupant of her heart; hence her vacillation, and the coquetting between the two with which she is charged. Such is our reading of her conduct. However, she outgrew her early weaknesses, whatever they were, and "late in life, she seems to have been a loving, lovely Christian."

Wesley found it very difficult to get into the haven of matrimony, and when he succeeded it proved anything but a quiet one. His marriage is another painful subject with which his biographer has to deal, and he deals with it in the spirit of caution and faithfulness which distinguishes his whole work. Having escaped one widow Wesley fell into the arms of another, and probably all the courtship that preceded his marriage was of not more than fifteen or sixteen days continuance. The marriage was as unfortunate as it was hasty. Connected with it is an episode in his history truly curious, and which few will read without a smile. His

biographer cannot relate it without indulging in a little sly waggery. He was intending to set out on a journey to the north, but was prevented by an accident which occurred the day before he proposed starting. Crossing London Bridge his feet slipped on the ice, by which his leg and ancle were sprained. After surgical attention was given to his limb, he was removed to the residence of Mrs. Vazeille, his lady elect. Here he spent seven days in various exercises which he mentions, one of them being *conversation*. With whom, and on what subject, the reader may pretty well conjecture, when he is told that the accident occurred on February 10th, and on February 18th he "led Mrs. Vazeille, a widow, seven years younger than himself, to the hymeneal altar, and was married." Instead of making a wedding tour, the next day and the day following he preached on his knees, not being able to set his foot to the ground. A fortnight after, being "tolerably able to ride, though not to walk," he set out for Bristol, leaving his newly-married wife behind him. On March 31st he returned to London, and six days afterwards set out for Scotland, this time, however, taking Mrs. Wesley with him, and inserted in his journal, "I cannot understand how a Methodist preacher can answer it to his God to preach one sermon, or travel one day less, in a married than in a single state. In this respect, surely, 'it remaineth, that they who have wives be as though they had none.'"

The results of this hasty and ill-judged marriage are copiously stated, and warrant the verdict that it was one of the greatest blunders Wesley ever made. The narrative of his connubial life seems to us to be written with commendable discrimination, and in a spirit of justness and equity to each party.

We have now done with the weak parts of John Wesley's life; and while we see he was a man, and had some of the faults and failings ever attendant on our humanity, yet he was, notwithstanding, a man of wondrous gifts and wondrous graces—a man who served his Master Christ with an untiring and devoted energy possible but to few, and who by his abounding and long continued labours has done more to bless the world than any one who has ever lived since the days of the apostle Paul. When the remaining volume of this biography is published we may refer to it for the purpose of bringing before our readers more fully this aspect of Wesley's life. In the meantime we have a word of warmest commendation for the biography itself. Thirty-six shillings may

seem a large outlay for the Life and Times of the Founder of Methodism, but the volumes are worth the money, and the sale must be exceedingly large before the author can have anything like an equitable compensation for the pains he has taken, or the expense he has incurred.

J. HUDSTON.

ART. III.—INTEMPERANCE: WHAT CAN BE DONE TO ARREST IT?

IT is a thought which often brings sadness that the progress of society is so uncertain and slow. This progress is no doubt a difficult thing to measure. The evils of former days are distant from us, and on this account seem less formidable: the evils of our own days immediately confront us, and in the near prospect seem more appalling. Statistics cannot be exclusively trusted. They are not always collected on the same principles and with equal carefulness. Testimonies from individuals are often conflicting. Localities vary in character, and so do methods of observation. Conclusions, therefore. can only be safely based on broad and impartial generalizations, We make no attempt to estimate with accuracy the change society has undergone within a given period. We are disposed to the belief that progress has been made, but we must confess also that it has been fluctuating and feeble in its advances. The most sanguine will hardly deny that the progress has been tardy, so tardy, indeed, as to oppress less eager and hopeful minds with a burden of anxious concern.

But the relative state of society is not a subject we propose now to discuss. Whether there are more or fewer, greater or smaller evils than formerly, we attempt not to determine. It is sufficient to call for Christian solicitude and effort that there are numerous and large evils still existing. They lie so much on the surface as to arrest the most careless observer. Applying our remarks mainly to society within the limits of the British nation, concerning which many eulogies have been pronounced, sometimes just, but perhaps more frequently foolish, we affirm its state to be such as reflects upon us

reproach and shame. In all our large centres of population there is an obtrusive and unblushing licentiousness. There is a prevalence of luxurious, pleasure-loving indulgence, which is weakening the energies and poisoning the morals of a large portion of the community. A large per centage of the population never attends public worship. Our criminal returns are high. We have a deplorable amount of ignorance. Our pauperism is unequalled, and most demoralizing in its influence. This indeed is the darker side of our state, but we have made it no darker than the truth demands. The evils afflicting us are such as excite in devout, intelligent, and patriotic persons the deepest sorrow and alarm. They are creating scenes of woe, and making tracks of desolation through the land.

In so far as physical degradation and mental impoverishment prevail it must be admitted that these exist in spite of means and provisions which should lead to an exactly opposite result. We have a commerce which has increased with amazing rapidity, scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions have wonderfully diminished the labour involved in the manufacture of articles, and we are almost flooded with contrivances to overcome our difficulties and augment our comfort; surely the natural result of this should be to increase generally the physical well-being of the community; yet, though perhaps the average condition is raised, it is also true that the physical wretchedness of large numbers seems to become more and more intense. So also, notwithstanding large educational means, we have many amongst us who seem to be falling in the scale of intelligence. Even away from the sluggish inactivity of our rural districts, in our large cities, where there is everything to quicken thought, where learning flourishes, where information rapidly circulates, where the press wields great power, and where culture should be most diffused, there is no small proportion of the population of these cities sunk in mental feebleness and enslaved by the grossest ignorance.

Nor can the miseries and immoralities afflicting society be charged more than very partially, if at all, to the lack of charitable and spiritual agencies. The nation is flooded with institutions, which, with various modes of operation, converge in the aim to improve the social and moral condition of the people. The charities of the nation are immense. In London they amount to the revenue of a small state. If all the money yielded by endowments and offered as voluntary contributions could be summed up, even for one year, the amount would be astonishing. In addition to the legal provision for

the relief and accommodation of our paupers, costing so many millions per year, we have hospitals for the sick, alms-houses for the infirm and aged, orphanages for the fatherless, doles for the poor, and means beyond description to mitigate the miseries which afflict men. The same abundance of provision exists also to minister to the spiritual benefit of society. What an army of voluntary spiritual workers exists! Godly men and women, moved with compassion, and yearning for the blessing of them that are ready to perish, are gladly giving all the strength they can command to their rescue. Then, in addition, the class of agents receiving pecuniary support for this work seems to be ever multiplying. What hosts there are of city missionaries, bible readers, bible women, and others designated by different names, whose special work it is to seek to elevate the fallen. The ecclesiastical progress of the country has been great. Churches, chapels, and schools have immensely increased. The Establishment has accumulating resources, the various denominations exhibit large liberality, and there appears on the part of each a fervent emulation to provide for the necessities and secure the adhesion of the people. How far all that is done springs from mere ecclesiastical rivalry and ambition, or from the pure spiritual love which would save men, we seek not to decide. We have organizations, if they have the corresponding power in them, to accomplish anything.

Yet with all this machinery at work the general result is most unsatisfactory. All the evils and miseries we have previously stated are prevailing. We do little more than arrest many of them, and in some instances fail to do even this. The volume of wickedness does not sensibly diminish; the scenes of suffering do not become visibly narrower. We scarcely get beyond the mere fringe of sin's great desolation. Much is done to soften misfortune, to relieve distress, to modify the painful consequences springing up; and so far well. When wars exist the utmost humanities should be shewn to the sick and wounded. But surely Christian duty does not stop with the mere softening down of the barbarity of war. It has to extinguish the cause which occasions the barbarity. Its higher object is to establish such agreement between nations, to bring them under such a rule of justice and good-will towards each other, as will for all time prevent war. So we must by our charities do all that can be done to soften the rigour of these vast miseries before us, but let us push the inquiry why these miseries exist; we must continue to lessen as far as we can the suffering which is constantly rising up, but the more important point is to see if we cannot render it unnecessary by ex-

hausting the causes which create it. The sad shortcoming of the nation hitherto has been this:—we have allowed an almost unrestrained license to the conditions which prepare for evil and to the temptations which solicit to evil. The legislation of the nation has failed to a great extent to reflect a wise, large, and Christian intelligence. It has often been short-sighted, sometimes unjust and corrupt; in many cases it has failed to provide the salutary restraints which guard from evil, and created the conditions which make the way to it easy. This is true in particular of the evil of intemperance we propose now more fully to set forth. We believe the past legislation in relation to this evil has tended to widen and to aggravate it; and, as one method of arresting and restricting the evil, the legislation must be required to undo much of what it has done, and to make very different provisions for the control of the liquor traffic, the main source of the evil, from those hitherto existing.

Most prominent among the many evils which afflict the nation is that of intemperance. It is no exaggeration to say, it is the most prevalent and obtrusive sin of the age. It meets us everywhere. Taking no account of the many cases which are more or less sheltered from observation, we can neither hide ourselves nor our children from its open exhibitions. Great Britain has often been designated the most drunken nation in the world, but, without accepting the responsibility of such an assertion, it must be acknowledged this vice has sad pre-eminence amongst us. It humiliates us even before heathen nations. Sir John Bowring said a year or two back, "I have had the honour of representing my Sovereign to communities of five hundred millions of human beings. I have lived among the Budhists, among the Brahmins, among the Mahommedans, and I was once reproached for saying that drunkenness was the representative of Christian nations. I think it is a sad approbrium; but it is undoubtedly true. I have seen more drunkenness in England, and Scotland, and Ireland in a single month than I have seen over half the surface of the world." No doubt eastern nations have their vices, but they are not so degraded by this vice. The opinion has often been expressed that as a nation we are better than we formerly were. This is some satisfaction to those who are able to think so. We can only say we have not met with evidence clear and decisive in this direction. We allow there is more of restraint among classes of the higher social grade. Intemperance is not a feature, as at one time, of social entertainments. Intelligence has increased, and loss of self

control attaches to a man the stigma of shame. But is it not the tendency to exaggerate this improvement? We assume no knowledge of the upper social ranks beyond that which circulates through the ordinary channels of information. What are the social habits of our youths at the universities? Has the expenditure in wine parties, and many other fast and dissipating indulgences, sensibly decreased? What is the town life of large numbers of the rich and fashionable classes? There are many signs which indicate the improvement is not so great as is at times represented. Is it not easy also to observe that among the middle and more prosperous trading classes there is an addiction to alcoholic drinks far beyond what any plea of hospitality or health requires? There may not be frequent scenes of unsteadiness and helplessness; but there is a craving for and a recourse to stimulants which largely betrays a bondage to them. There is that large and habitual use of them which if not palpable intemperance falls only one degree below it, and the consequences of which are visible in the moral and physical deterioration of the individuals. If the bills for these drinks were summed up in many households, even for one year, the result would be a surprise even to those who pay them, and would prove that far beyond any assumed use the drinks are taken because they are enjoyed. If we take the lower classes of the community, who have fewer means and less desire to shelter their intemperance, it must be admitted the vice is most rampant. As seen in our cities and towns it is a shock to all whose sensibilities have not become deadened. What is the state of things shewn by the cases dealt with by the police as revealed in the criminal returns? We admit these returns are not a perfect guage of the extent of the evil; it is doubtful whether the police have any definite instructions or principles. We suppose, however, they will remove no persons from the streets so long as they stand tolerably well on their feet, and keep from abusing those about them. In 1856 the police removed 2,768 from the streets of Edinburgh; in 1866 the number had risen to 4,133. In Manchester the total number of persons proceeded against for drunkenness, in 1860, gave twenty-three per cent. of the whole number of prosecutions; in 1869, the number had advanced to forty per cent. In that city last year one to every thirty-two of the population, and in Liverpool one to every twenty-seven, were proceeded against for drunkenness. The apprehensions for drunkenness in Manchester, in 1861, were 2,284, in 1870, 11,083; in Liverpool, in 1861, 9,832, in 1870, 21,113. Drunkenness increased ten per

cent. last year.* It is not our purpose to present a formidable array of statistics, but we believe there is abundant evidence to prove the rapid increase of this vice in our large cities and towns. It is bringing almost daily a larger proportion of our population more and more under its power.

We fear there prevails, in the public mind, no adequate sense of the moral odiousness of this vice. It is mostly looked upon with a large measure of indulgence. Our familiarity with it tends to deaden our sensibility towards the evil. Inebriation in its milder forms—if there be only moderate exhilaration, and increase of loquacity, or the equilibrium be but slightly disturbed—is glossed over under the form of some excusing designation; and even when its manifestation becomes extreme the social disgrace is thought of rather than the moral guilt. This convenient and sheltering language should cease. However accommodating and pleasant, it is perilous with half-apologetic phrases to soften the crime. The just judgment upon it is this:—it is a monster evil; the man who yields to it violates the law of God, inflicts a wrong upon society, and stamps upon himself the brand of humiliation and disgrace.

A stronger estimate should be cherished of the degradation of this sin. We have passed that stage at which the degradation comes upon us as a shock of surprise. Surprise is a rare emotion. We can hardly be surprised with scenes which may be witnessed every day. We can travel through some countries, and the sight of drunkenness will hardly ever meet our view. Unhappily it is not so in our own country. Though many sad cases are screened from observation, staggering and brawling creatures may often be passed in our streets. There is no other sin which creates so much outward humiliation. A man may be no drunkard and yet be a very bad man—he may be a thief, liar, the concentration and essence of all other depravity, and yet with it all he can maintain self-control. But this sin makes a man worse than a brute. In its partial stages it excites the animal propensities. It gives an undue physical stimulus. It supplies an unnatural strength. It developes the coarser passions. In its more advanced stages it dethrones reason, destroys coherency of thought, makes men jabber nonsense. It suspends the action of conscience, and paralyzes the will. What the ultimate mischief would be no one can say, save that it mercifully comes to this—the brain reels, the vision is bewildered, stupor ensues, and, helpless, the man sinks by the wayside, in the gutter, or is helped to bed by his friends

* Urgent Appeal of License Amendment League.

to snore himself sober again. No doubt there are some manifestations of ridiculousness in intemperance to tempt a smile, but much more is there to cause the heart to bleed with pain. The sight of reason dethroned, intelligence defaced, self-control gone, and a temporary madness or imbecility reigning in their place, is a spectacle to excite our sorrow more than any scene besides.

This vice creates a terrible bondage. It is one of a class of sins connected with perverted physical appetites, and these are the sins which most enslave. All sins indeed create a disposition which inclines to them, and makes their repetition easier. The commission of sin is like the opening of a sluice: it sets the current going. It starts volition and energy, impelling them in a certain channel. But this is true in particular of those sins which are connected with the physical appetites. When a sin has vitiated a bodily appetite, then it creates so much of an additional force towards evil and against virtue. So the sin of drunkenness operates. It perverts and strengthens a physical appetite which pleads with almost irresistible force, giving a man to feel that he must have the drink, that he will have it, and often in spite of all opposing forces and reasons he gets it. Not that the men thus overcome are men of naturally inferior capacity—many of them have much more than the average of mental strength and brilliance; nor is it that they have not the same social and domestic reasons to restrain them—they have the desire and reputation of friends and families to consider; nor are they ignorant how much they are sacrificing life's best and dearest interests—the view of impending ruin often flashes before their eyes: yet against the most forcible reasons to hold them back, as though dragged or impelled by an invisible tyrant, they hurry forward in the soul-destroying course. This vice is swaying its fearful mastery not only over the reckless crowds who have neither position nor reputation to lose, but upon those who are blighting their best prospects by it, incurring inevitable personal disgrace, and covering with sorrow and darkness their homes.

The effects of this vice are manifold, but all of them disastrous to the best interests of humanity. Indeed it is not an extreme assertion to say, it is a cause of injury and woe more prolific than any other. No sins stand alone, but there is a destructiveness in some, and a power of evil propagation, greater than in others. Of this sin it may be said it scatters destruction, and instigates to all manner of evil; it paralyzes the power of restraint, unbars the door of defence, and allows the enemy unresistingly to come and take possession.

Let us now glance at its influence more particularly in relation to social and national interests.

This intemperance is a cause of sinful waste. In the manufacture of alcoholic drinks enormous quantities of grain and other food material are consumed. In deference to those who are reluctant to abandon the idea that there is some benefit to be gained from the moderate use of these drinks, let a certain per centage be deducted on this account; it is clear that all consumed beyond a certain line is utter waste. The writer would not conceal his conviction that there are very few cases indeed in which persons are not better without them than with them; but, not to push the argument to an extreme, let it be conceded that the conversion of food material to this purpose, up to a certain point, is right. There are upwards of fifty millions of bushels of grain used per year in this manufacture. Were we clever in arithmetic, we could produce startling arrays of figures showing how many acres this amount requires for growth, how many loaves it would make, how many families it would feed, the vast capital it would save to this country now spent in obtaining food from other countries; but this we must leave. We say that many, many millions of bushels of this grain are as much wasted as if they were tumbled in the bottom of the sea. If some day all the bakers' vans in London were to meet and discharge their loads in the river Thames, and the same were to be done with the sacks in the millers' waggons, how astonished and indignant we should be at the waste. A mob might be raised any day to inflict lynch law upon the bakers and millers foolish enough to destroy the food of the people; and justly so, for what right have they to throw away food for which others may be hungry? And yet waste as bad, and worse, is going on every day. There would be less exhaustion of national strength and resources if the grain were burnt before our eyes than applied as it is. Under the license of law there is immense, mischievous, and dire destruction of food taking place.

Another deplorable result of intemperance is the poverty which prevails. There cannot be waste in a community without want. As waste creates want with individuals, so it does with nations. According to the commonly received estimate, £100,000,000 are annually spent by our nation on drinks. We shall not attempt to prove the absolute correctness of this estimate, but we know that nearly one-third of the revenue of the nation is raised from this source, and there are other data which clearly show the estimate not to be exaggerated. There cannot be this waste going on without a corresponding desti-

tution somewhere. We would not have it understood that poverty springs exclusively from this cause; there are many causes tending to its existence. The laws which prevent the free and natural distribution of land and operate to accumulate it in few hands tend to it; so do the laws which make the transfer of small properties cumbersome and costly; so does the maintenance of a lavishly expensive military system; so do the laws which prevent the unfettered flow and employment of capital; so does the ignorance existing; but none of these causes operate with such large and fatal influence as the misexpenditure on drink. The majority of our poor are brought to extreme poverty by their personal improvidence and waste. They unnecessarily spend in youth, and the hey-day of their prosperity, that which would be their support and comfort in age and adversity. Far be it from us to say that the poverty of many has its origin in any personal faults whatever. There are conditions in life in which poverty is all but unavoidable. With all the frugality and care which can be exercised, what can most agricultural labourers do more than barely keep want from their door? Scarcely any extent of personal industry is sufficient to keep them in old age from falling upon parish relief. According to the existing state of things poverty is the almost inevitable accompaniment of certain social states. Yet it is true concerning vast numbers, that intemperance is the bottomless gulph which absorbs all the money they can put in, and opens its mouth to receive more. How can persons help being poor when a fourth, a third, or even one-half of their income is spent on that which is a ruin to both body and mind?

The pauperism of the country has advanced to the front rank of social questions. Our nation is at once the richest of nations and the poorest. Nowhere is there such an accumulation of wealth, and yet nowhere is there such manifest destitution. Want and squalor are more obtrusive here than anywhere. Why is it so? What sinks us lower than other countries? What natural necessity is there to reduce us to such an extreme? These are the questions which should be met. As they are candidly and fully considered we believe the conviction will rise that there are no causes which lead to this wide-spread destitution save those which spring from the wasteful and sinful habits of the people, or the misgovernment by which they are ruled, and which are therefore remediable. As a country we have immense physical resources, a commerce marked by amazing rapidity of growth, an amount of talent and industry which no other nation can exceed, the most pure

and ennobling of all religions; and we know of no necessity why, so far as the actual condition of the masses of the people is concerned, we should be the poorest of nations. The poverty of our large cities is falling with heavy per centage upon the value of property, so much so as to awaken the self-interest of the property-owning classes. Thus the proportion of the disabled and incompetent rises, and even against rising trade returns. We do not now attempt to assign to other causes their exact measure of influence in producing this result, but more than to any other cause we charge it to the prevailing intemperance.

It is a great hindrance to the growth of our home trade. The money spent in drink leaves so much less to be spent in clothes, in things necessary to make comfortable homes, in making fruitful fields and beautiful gardens, and in adding in many ways to the wealth and commerce of the country. This line of remark is, however, in close alliance with the one followed out in the preceding paragraph, and we need not further pursue it.

Then intemperance is the most fruitful cause of crime. The great majority of crimes are committed under the influence of lower or higher degrees of inebriation. It is that which excites latent tendencies to crimes, and invests with the recklessness or blindness which qualifies persons to commit them. We will not weary with the evidence which makes this point conclusive. We could cull testimonies from the charges of judges and the reports of prison governors and chaplains in abundance. We could quote statistics by the volume. Intemperance is flooding the land with depravity, and undoing the work of preachers, teachers, and moral reformers to an enormous extent. What years of care, labour, and expense are given to the training of many of our youths, and the seduction of intemperance is making it all in vain. It is the main cause of immorality between the sexes. Our theatres and music and dancing saloons, bring young men and women into ensnaring association, and then the intoxicating liquors at the bar, at first exciting and then stupifying the senses, lead on to fatal indulgence. These liquors are the almost inevitable accompaniment of the exciting and debasing amusements which are doing so much to corrupt the youth of our country.

We must scarcely do more than allude to the misery which comes out of the vice of intemperance. There is no imagination can fathom its depths; there is no tongue can describe its horrors. The land is filled with bitterness and mourning because of it. Many characters there are which would be

very fair if this foul sin did not blight them; many homes which would be very bright if its black shadow did not darken them. How happy many husbands and wives would be—how happy many parents and children would be—but for this accursed sin. There are families who live in fear, in anxiety, even in terror, because some one belonging to them any day or hour may bring them into difficulty and disgrace. They can never rest in the refuge of a true comfort, because this gloomy apprehension ever haunts them. And we can easily imagine when persons want to stand well with others, to be respectable, even more, from the highest motives, to be right, how heart-rending it must be to them to have those in their homes whom they fear will be cast down by the slavery of this sin. Many a wife's heart would leap for joy if the beguiling, demoralizing drink could be banished always from the husband's and father's reach. Look at the wretchedness which is created by this cause in the homes of the more destitute classes. It brings ignorance, raggedness, hunger, squalor, disease, and death. What can the poor wife do when not half the husband's wages passes through her hands, and her children are left half naked and starved? or what can the husband do when all his higher efforts are thwarted by the muddling, intemperate habits of his wife? The result is brutalizing quarrels, neglected children, disordered homes, every element of sorrow and woe, ending in the debased hardness which is reckless as to what ensues. And most awful of all is the spiritual guilt and danger incurred. It brings persons under an evil power which makes their conversion very difficult. Such is the slavery of appetite and habit, that it is hard for the drunkard to enter the kingdom of God.

We must now hasten to offer some suggestions how this evil of intemperance can be arrested. Surely the responsibility rests upon us to grapple with this gigantic evil, and try to cast it down! We are bound to look at it, and to consider what our duty is in relation thereto. No true lover of his country, nor of his race, can be indifferent to its existence. On the lower ground of social and political expediency we dare not ignore its presence, but on the higher ground of Christian obligation and duty we are irresistibly compelled to seek its removal. We must not be tempted by the large and long standing of any evil to regard it as inevitable; nor yield to an apathetic and despondent feeling in relation to its destruction. We must, to the extent of our ability, resist it, and seek to uproot it, or in part we become responsible for its continuance. Those who have been redeemed from all iniquity

should be the foes of all iniquity, and there is not one evil lying within the limits of our power and influence we should not fight against and seek to destroy. With the law before us—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself"—we are bound to interest ourselves in our neighbour's condition, and to seek for his well-being as we seek for our own.

Unquestionably the safest and most advanced ground to rest upon in the crusade against intemperance is personal abstinence. The only effectual remedy for the intemperate is abstinence. He who with the most authority and persuasion can lead them to the adoption of abstinence does them the most good. If we would induce others to walk in a certain way we shall carry more influence with them when we walk in the way ourselves. Example in this, as in other things, is force. Our abstinence shews the intemperate we place no privation, or restriction, or social odium upon them we do not submit to ourselves; and by leading in the way we make it easier for them to follow. Let the strong, then, make some sacrifice to protect the weak. The sacrifice is more one of taste, indulgence, habit, than anything else. In the ordinary conditions of life it will lead to no physical loss. We believe in the uselessness of intoxicating drinks as beverages. This is generally admitted by the highest medical and scientific authorities. Men can be trained for the greatest physical feats, and can undergo the rigour of fatiguing exploring expeditions, better without these drinks than with them. In pleading, therefore, for their surrender, it is with the impression it will involve no physical detriment. We are assured increased moral power will be gained by abstinence. Of those who have yielded to drinking customs a considerable per centage have been ensnared to sinful indulgence; so in proportion as by personal example and influence drinking customs are restricted, in such proportion will drunkenness be limited. Of course the common argument is, the abuse of a thing is no reason against its use. We admit it is impossible to give up everything which is abused. But there is vastly more of danger in some elements than others. And it is wisdom for ourselves, and beneficence to others, not to expose ourselves to the greater danger when duty does not call us. To shun peril, when no higher interests can be secured by passing through it, is not cowardice. We plead, then, for abstinence as "the better way," as one of those self-denials which give increased power for usefulness, which remove one of the causes "whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak," and which enable us from higher vantage ground to deal with the great evil of intemperance.

Let there be a general endeavour to discountenance those social customs which are one source of temptation to this evil. The misleading idea must be banished that the offering of alcoholic drinks is essential to hospitality. Hospitality is a duty which the noble-minded love. It is the out-flow of a genial spirit, and a source of high social pleasure. We trust the time is far distant when a generous hospitality will be less general than it now is. But, unhappily, the idea has rooted itself in society that in order to hospitality there must be pressing offers of these drinks. Persons, in this respect at least, like to do as they are done by; that which has a place upon one table comes to have a place upon another; so this social custom has been formed. This custom must be reformed. In many cases it far from accords with the deeper convictions of those who exercise the hospitality; it sometimes hinders the partial resolutions of those who are inclined to abstinence. Not a few, against their better convictions, have yielded to social pressure; not a few have thus strengthened habits which at last have been ruinous to them. We plead for such change as will prevent these drinks having an obtrusive place on the social board, and as will arrest undue solicitation to them. We would weaken a custom fraught with evil to society at large.

A further effort should be made to dissociate business and social transactions from drinking houses. At present they are extensively and closely allied. Bargains are struck, monies are paid, orders are sought, and a multitude of other things are done, all terminating in something to drink. The solicitations in this respect to which some men in business are subject, and the expense incurred, are an extreme annoyance, and if practicable they would gladly obtain deliverance. A great variety of meetings, benefit and other societies, are held at inns and beerhouses. Payment of wages has been made at these places, and in connection with the truck system they have grievously oppressed needy and ignorant workmen. We say an endeavour must be made to reverse this condition of things. The connection between business and drink must be severed. It is not, indeed, for all persons to operate in the same way; there are some more fettered by the difficulty than others. But if Christians, and men of correct social life, would be less complacent toward this custom, more ready to encounter the difficulty which refusal to acquiesce in it will create, we are sure an improvement will speedily ensue. Counter conveniences and attractions, morally unexceptionable in character, must be provided. A movement has lately commenced to establish public-houses without the drink. The problem to

be solved is how sufficiently to meet business and social wants, and yet avoid present moral dangers. The links which bind men to the public-house, as it now is, must be broken; their pecuniary and social interests as far as possible must be separated from it.

Passing over other suggestions we hasten to offer one or two remarks concerning the legislative treatment of this great evil. We are free to confess that, however important right personal and social influences may be in their place, apart from the further aid of severe legislative restrictions we have feeble hope that intemperance will be suppressed. For, as we have previously stated, it has been mistaken legislation in the past which has been the main cause of the extent and strength of the evil as now existing. If, as a nation, we have a melancholy pre-eminence in drunkenness, it is largely because Parliament has given its sanction to provisions directly tempting to its practice. It has enacted to make the liquor traffic a main source of its revenue; it has multiplied the places for its sale utterly beyond all reasonable necessity; it has put these places so close to each other as to compel their proprietors to the severest competition; it has given to a large class of people a direct money interest in the insobriety of their fellow citizens. And the fact has come to pass, as ought to have been expected, that the most demoralizing incentives have been employed, appealing to every vitiated passion and appetite of human nature, to tempt men to drink. The existing laws controlling the liquor traffic have been and still are a source of immense mischief. Who will say that the Act creating beerhouses, and committing to the Excise the power to license such houses, has not operated to the injury of the nation? By permitting the unchecked increase of such houses, and allowing vicious excitements and amusements to be associated with them, many of them have become the abodes of prostitutes, thieves, gamblers, and have furnished provision and shelter for the gratification of the worst passions and lusts. An unwise and corrupt law carries detriment and infection through the community. Such has been the influence of the law establishing beerhouses. Parliament has been a main cause of the spread of intemperance: to Parliament we now look for a remedy to check the evil.

Our space does not admit of entering into lengthy details of the measures which are proposed with a view to this end. It is a sign of healthy interest that so many organizations have been recently established, all of them recognising the evils at present springing out of the traffic, and aiming in various degrees and ways to bring it under more stringent

control. A most instructive and able report has been issued by the committee on intemperance, appointed by the Convocation of the province of Canterbury. Having suggested the non-legislative remedies, the report goes on to state, "Meanwhile your committee are convinced that without an improved and stringent system of legislation, and its strict enforcement, no effectual and permanent remedy for intemperance can be looked for." It then recommends what the legislative remedies should be; and very searching and extensive, coming from so conservative a quarter, some of them are. The following we judge to be important points to be observed in the legislative action to diminish the abounding intemperance. Indirectly:—(*a*) The Education Bill must be so sustained, and, if necessary, amended, as to secure the efficient instruction of the whole youth of the country; (*b*) Measures must be passed which will favourably assist the natural instincts towards industry and frugality, and, therefore, sobriety; chief among which are those which facilitate the distribution of landed property, and make small holdings more easy of acquisition. Directly:—(*a*) repeal of the Beerhouses and Wine Licenses Acts; (*b*) closing of all licensed houses on a Sunday, and considerable abridgment of hours of sale on other days; (*c*) transfer of licensing power from an irresponsible, and sometimes interested, class of persons as magistrates, to a licensing board elected in some form by the ratepayers; (*d*) the witholding of all licenses from music halls, dancing saloons, and places of public amusement; (*e*) special and frequent inspection of licensed places, and unflinching enforcement of penalties; a deprivation of license to follow all renewed offences. These are the main, though not the exclusive, principles which should be embodied in the legislation for the better regulation of the liquor traffic.

But there is a cry raised against the *regulation* of this traffic, and a demand for its entire suppression. We also give our voice for the suppression of the traffic. To whatever extent it exists, or whatever the regulation for its control, we fear mischief will come out of it. But is nothing less to be accepted than the suppression, the whole suppression, and nothing but the suppression? If we cannot secure the whole benefit we contemplate, are we therefore to reject an instalment towards it? To us it appears this would be a rash, if not fatal policy. Rather we would say, if we cannot leap to our object let us walk to it; if we cannot move to it by rapid advances we must proceed by slower stages. If persons can only go with us the first part of the journey, we need not refuse to have their company

because they cannot go to the end. Providing only that every movement is in the right direction—forward, and not backward—then every step taken shortens the remaining distance. On this ground, therefore, we urge the support of measures for the more stringent regulation of the traffic—not that the limited traffic in itself is good, or that we are not to seek for its still further limitation, and even its suppression; but it is better for an evil to be lessened in some degree rather than to continue in undiminished extent. In proportion as the traffic is restricted in extent and weakened in power, so will the forces on the side of virtue be increased, and on the side of vice diminished. Every step will lift us to higher vantage ground. Every limitation of the traffic will strengthen for further conflict, and prepare for final extinction. The right policy to us seems to be to co-operate in every legislative aggression against the traffic, and to seek to sustain such aggression by a corresponding increase and strength of moral sentiment.

Before these pages are in the hands of our readers it is probable the promised Licensing Bill will have been brought by Mr. Bruce before Parliament. We are not so sanguine as to think that it will go as far as a large portion of the public earnestly desires, but we hope, however far it goes, it will be in the right direction, and free from any retrograde provision. We trust also it will bring in, to a large extent, the principle of local option. The predominating opinion of the inhabitants of a locality should have its due control in a matter so closely touching their interests, and where there is a sufficiency of opinion to sustain a limited or entire prohibition, the prohibiting power should be committed to the locality. We cannot now enter into the discussion whether and how far individual and social freedom would be invaded by such permissive power. That some objections may be raised to it, that some inconveniences will spring from it, we are ready to admit; but measures are seldom carried because nothing can be said against them, but because more can be said for them; and we feel assured the reasons to be urged in favour of such local option, and the advantages which would accrue therefrom, greatly outweigh all the objections and disadvantages alleged against it. What can justify the anomaly, on the one side, which commits to irresponsible magistrates an almost unrestricted licensing power to extend the liquor traffic where they choose; and the anomaly, on the other side, which gives to large landed proprietors the power so to arrest the traffic, that, chiefly through their influence, in more than a thousand parishes in the province of Canterbury not a public-

house or beerhouse exists? The people, in relation to this traffic, desire to care for and protect their own interests, and it seems to us wise and right to entrust them with the power to do so.

In conclusion, we would urge employment of all possible forces and means to destroy the gigantic and desolating evil we have set forth. There are many modes of attacking the evil; some will approve of one mode more than another; but as far as possible all the modes—personal, social, political, and spiritual—should be combined. In the family, in the school, in the press, in the pulpit, earnest and pointed admonitions should be given. In proportion to the prevalence of an evil, and to the extent to which society stands in a compromised and doubtful relation to it, will be the soreness, on the one hand, to receive, and the reluctance, on the other hand, to give, faithful teachings concerning it. It has been so where slavery has prevailed. It has been so in relation to other evils. We must not suffer it to be so in relation to the evil of intemperance. Marked as the evil is by a melancholy pre-eminence, piteous and offensive in its exhibitions, terribly destructive in its influence, there must be no uncertain voice in respect to it; but men must be warned and besought to save themselves and others from its curse. Assuredly a grave responsibility rests upon those who, doing nothing at all to lessen it, are resting in silence and ease.

WILLIAM LONGBOTTOM.

ART. IV.—HEREAFTER: AN ARGUMENT FOR THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

THE experiences recorded in the well-known soliloquy of Hamlet are but the counterpart of mental exercises engaged in by thinking men in all ages. At one time or another we are all familiar with its self-questions respecting the "undiscovered country, from whose bourne no traveller returns," and its "dread of something after death." Even Christianity has not, to some minds, so answered the question, "To be, or not to be?" as to divest it of all obscurity and uncertainty, though they crave for definitive convictions upon it, and to attain them they regard as "a consummation devoutly to be wished."

It is our purpose, then, briefly to survey the arguments and evidences which determine us to a belief in the immortality of the soul.

One reason why the doctrine of the soul's immortality is so strongly doubted or strenuously opposed in some quarters, is owing in great part to the repulsiveness of the dogma of everlasting torments, as taught by modern theologians, which, it is said, if true, is sufficient to throw those who fully believe it into a helpless and desperate melancholy. But we know not why eternal punishment, as taught in Scripture, should be deemed repugnant to human intelligence, to our sense of equity, and our benevolent emotions, when the same thing in principle is found to regulate the conduct of society. For, though penitent and reformed transgressors may be received again into its bosom, yet the hopelessly depraved never are, but are doomed to perpetual distrust and disgrace. If not the objects of continued penal treatment, they are yet aliens and outcasts.

In arguing this question of the soul's immortality, the most logical course, perhaps, is that which begins with the lowest kind of evidence in its favour, and then gradually rises to the higher and irresistible. To follow this course, then, we affirm, first:

That it is extremely probable that the human soul is immortal.

The retention of a consciousness of personal identity, notwithstanding the various changes to which our body is subject during life, produces in the mind a conviction of the *probability*

that when the greater change which it undergoes in its dissolution at death shall come, the living, acting, conscious principle within will survive that also; whilst particular analogies of nature suggest that, as in the past so in the future, the transformation which we shall undergo by that event will not only not be the destruction of our living being, or self, but will be one which will rather contribute to its higher development and nearer approach to perfection.

We are aware that in arguing this matter, we are liable to be tempted into reaching after the transcendental, rather than to honest dealing with sober fact, and so try to make out our case upon insufficient evidence. This is to be deprecated and avoided. Still, as a second step in our argument, we ask: Is there not the possibility of resting the proof of our immortality too much upon intellectual reasons, making it a question to be settled by the head, or logical formula, while we give not proper consideration, nor attach sufficient importance, to our intuitions, to that sense of its probability or certainty which is ineradicable in our hearts, and of which by no effort of the will we can divest ourselves? Efforts may be and are made to destroy this sense of continued existence, this instinctive looking forward to, and expectation of, immortality; but after all it shows itself to be irrepressible and inextinguishable, while from the idea of the soul's extinction at death all, except the most abandoned and profane, and those misled by vain philosophy and the teaching of science falsely so-called, instinctively recoil. And this sense of the immortal, this insatiable craving after it which rises within us, and will not leave us, sometimes cheering, sometimes terrifying us, is worth many arguments of the mere intellect. No, this inexterminable desire for future life will not be argued or explained away, but remains from year to year as an indwelling witness of our high and noble destiny.

There is, moreover, about this human instinct a certain singularity worthy to be pointed out. All around are decay and death. Analogy, therefore, would lead men to suppose that the law of mortality embraces all living organizations in its fell swoop; yet, in spite of what they see, they themselves hope and look for exemption from its sweep. Does the Almighty, then, mean to mock us and belie Himself? May we not assume that nature never revolts at that which originally was part of itself? We see that animals die, but they die reluctantly; they struggle and fight against that which brings them this calamity. They strive for life, but strive ineffectually. They die. This is so right up from the lowest orders. And

as we rise the struggle on the part of death seems to be less effectual, and gives promise of something like success on the part of its antagonist. So that we are led to imagine: May there not be a point with some natures or orders in which the struggle with death will end in its defeat? and when the mere trappings have fallen off, will leave the undying principle fresh and vigorous? Such a point we maintain there may be —there is. And for this we look to a higher spiritual region, to the "EGO" that thinks, and feels, and knows.

Now, if, as the foregoing argument maintains, this sense in the individual carry with it any weight, by parity of reasoning the consent of the race does much more so. It was the opinion of Cicero that the consent of all was the voice of nature, and the voice of nature was the voice of God. If then the premises be allowed, the conclusion is irresistible as to the fact of the immortality of the soul. It is certainly true that nature never operates in opposition to herself, but is invariably harmonious. This is a position needing no defence. Now, what is felt and manifested, not merely by one or two individuals, but is found springing up in the heart of men everywhere, in all circumstances, and in all ages, must be allowed to be in some sort natural, and so from God. It would be simply idle to deny the almost universal existence of a belief in a future state. And if the voice of the people be the voice of nature, and the voice of nature the voice of God, the fact that there is this instinctive, universal looking forward to, and expectation of, immortality possessed and cherished by all the nations of the earth, is one which is very significant and suggestive, the importance of which it is impossible to over-estimate, and the meaning of which it is impossible to mistake.

Supposing immortal existence for some beings to be a *fact*— leaving out of the account for the moment the question as to whether or not it be intended for the human race—and the universal craving for it not to be a morbid condition, but natural and healthy, the question will arise: Has man a capacity for immortality? The proper answer to this question we take is,—though men may sometimes through ignorance desire that for which they have no receptive capacity, yet it is not possible for a being to have earnest yearnings after that which is opposed to its nature, and upon the acquisition of which it would cease to be that which it was before. So that the boundless capacity of man's soul argues its future existence. This capacity is seen to some extent in its restlessness and dissatisfaction with what the present affords. It looks upon the present—what it can feel and enjoy—and finds

it perish with the using. Unsubstantial and fleeting, every earthly object gives sign of dissolution and decay; but the cry of the human soul is for something that abides and fills. No creature that we know, possesses powers or capacity, for whose satisfaction, and appropriate exercise and enjoyment no provision is made. Beasts and birds, to speak colloquially, soon use themselves up, and run themselves out, as to their faculties; and their successors make no advance upon what their predecessors did, but simply follow the same or a similar course, and then die off, not even indicating the power of further growth or improvement. But how different is it with man! He is known to have capacities which the present does not fill, much less satisfy. And have we not at times glimpses of man's inner nature which suggest a depth of capacity as yet unfathomed, and powers lying latent, awaiting full development in some more congenial sphere? Then how many pass away soon, even from the present, without attaining that development of faculty which the present will admit? We are accustomed to express our faith in the veracity and wisdom of God. Is it true, then, that God has given to His creature man a capacity for immortality whilst that immortality is denied? If God be wise, and has made nothing without an end, can it be that the being who is plainly seen to have a capacity for action and enjoyment which meets with no adequate sphere or object in this life, gains them not hereafter? For—

> "The grove, the sky-built temple, and the dome
> Though clad in honours beautiful and fair,
> Find in the heart of man no natural home;
> The *immortal* mind craves objects that endure."

Nor does it seem possible to us to affirm that this capacity for the immortal is denied an appropriate and legitimate object, without an impeachment of the Divine benevolence. For it is tantamount to saying that God has implanted a something within us which operates, and must of necessity operate, to our constant disquietude and misery. It has in it and about it a look and quality of malignity, incompatible with the vast and various proofs of His benevolence and beneficence with which the universe abounds.

And as a yet further argument, one, too, growing out of the preceding, is the almost overwhelming sense of alliance with God to which the above train of thought conducts us. The conception of His vastness, immutability, and eternity, begets within us a feeling of our immortality. So God reveals

Himself in us and to us; and by this means reveals us to ourselves, through the gracious operation of His Holy Spirit. And by the relation we thus feel to subsist between us, we are led to the conviction that we, too, are immortal, and, in this respect at least, "partakers of the divine nature."

This conviction of our immortality derived from the conception we have of God's immutability, and our sense of relation to Him, is materially strengthened by what have been termed the "Mutabilities of Life." The question arises—Have we paid sufficient attention to this matter? When objects which we hoped would remain with us are found to be gliding away, why do we seek for other objects in hope of finding something that may remain? And what do we do all the time by this, but unconsciously demonstrate the truth that that which is satisfied only with the enduring must itself endure? The fact that amongst the instabilities of life we yet crave for "ever duringness," goes far to prove that we are destined to a state of existence where what we now seek in vain shall be found. And this everlasting reaching after a real state of "ever duringness," is an argument for its ultimate attainment, inasmuch as to suppose it otherwise would reflect upon the character of our Maker as a being of infinite wisdom and goodness.

Nor is the argument furnished by moral sentiment in favour of the immortality of the soul to be altogether despised. As we listen to the solemn words "dust to dust," and "ashes to ashes," followed by "in sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection," pronounced beside the last earthly resting-place of a departed friend, do we not feel deep down in our inmost soul that he has but passed from our companionship to a happier clime? Yes, let it be a beloved daughter, for instance, that we have laid in the grave, and our hearts cling to the sentiment with a tenacity which will not relinquish its hold, that—

> "She is not dead, the child of our affection,
> But gone unto that school,
> Where she no longer needs our poor protection,
> And Christ Himself doth rule."

It was at the grave side of his father that Robert Hall found his speculations about the soul's materiality to be effectually dissipated. What long exercised logic could never accomplish, sentiment instantly achieved.

Yet further, we argue the soul's immortality from its capacity for moral ideas. For may not the ideas, say of truth, and the eternal and inviolable distinction between right and

wrong, which inhere in men's souls, and which are indestructible there, be adduced as proof of its unending continuance? Principles are immutable and eternal; and the fact that they inhere in certain natures, dominating the same, and asserting their supremacy in a variety of ways, if not positive, is yet presumptive proof that the nature in which they thus exist has somewhat of their own quality. Otherwise, why are not the same moral ideas and principles found to regulate the lives of brutes? Or the question may take a somewhat different shape. As actual fact, we find two distinct and different laws claiming man's recognition and obedience. These laws are sometimes found in conflict. One law regulates the natural being, and demands obedience irrespective of moral consequences; the other plainly regulates the moral being, and insists upon compliance with its requirements, though that involves the foregoing of present material good. An illustration, perhaps, will not be out of place. Here is a man starving, while he has opportunity of appropriating to his use his neighbour's possessions. The natural law makes the support of natural life the first consideration, and so says, "Eat and live." But forthwith a voice clearer and louder is heard, "Is this right? Does it accord with truth and justness?" And though at such a juncture appetite may prove stronger than principle, and the higher law be disregarded, yet it is with this consequence, that the sphere of each is ever afterwards more clearly defined and understood. And it is seen, without doubt, that the law which depends not for its power upon that which perishes, is the regulator of a high and imperishable nature. Thus the conflict often found to exist between the natural and moral being argues the higher nature's continued and future existence, when that upon which the activity of the lower is now found to depend shall have passed away.

This leads us to assert, as a yet further step in the argument, the moral necessity for the soul's future existence in order to afford to the Supreme Arbiter an opportunity of self-vindication, and of rectifying hereafter that which, as men judge, has gone wrong here. That virtue is its own reward, and vice its own punishment, may be admitted in a sense. But, after all, the instances in which injustice prevails against justice are seen vastly to preponderate; and those in which virtue is adequately rewarded, and vice adequately punished, are vastly disproportionate. The question then arises, How are these facts to be reconciled with our notions of the infinite integrity, unimpeachable veracity, and inflexible justice of the Moral

Governor of the world, whom we call God? The answer is found in the word—HEREAFTER. Thus the doctrine of retribution comes in as no slight evidence in favour of immortality. Retribution indeed there is in this world, and that not merely in the sense of a vicious life being followed by physical suffering and mental remorse, but in another sense not so frequently observed upon. The insatiable cravings of the miser will imprint themselves upon his visage. The cunning of the crafty and artful man will show itself in, the look of his eyes, and the general features of his face. And so we might go on to show that there is a general law of retribution at work now, pursuing men till it overtakes them and makes their characters manifest to all intelligent observers. Hence, the judgments of physiognomists are not always fortunate guesses at truth, but simple readings of signs which retribution has imprinted upon those whose dispositions they decipher in anticipation of the future. And the *law* thus found to govern moral character here, contains a self-prophecy and pledge of its continuance and force hereafter, and, therefore, is an intimation and evidence of man's immortality.

It will be seen that so far we have taken no note of the metaphysical argument for the soul's immortality. This has been skilfully and elaborately put by various authors, amongst whom Samuel Drew has a notable place. We do not, however, under-rate that argument, for the ideas of the soul's immortality and immateriality are essentially connected. For if we, being unable fully to understand the "physical nature" of matter, know it only by means of its primary qualities—"extension and figure"—and yet, notwithstanding, believe in the reality of its objective existence; can we, without manifest self-contradiction, refuse our assent to the positive existence of an immaterial substance, the essence of which refuses to show itself in answer to our inquiries, but whose qualities or attributes are known to us? The fact that the mind can act, think, and extend itself to where there is no matter, or what is termed "pure expansion," is proof of its independence of matter, and so its capability for distinct and separate existence. Assuming the non-eternity of matter, and so its creation in time by an Infinite Spirit, we have granted in that assumption not only the separate existence of mind or matter, but also the activity of mind independent of matter. For mind in its creation of matter could not be indebted to matter, as an efficient concurring cause. To suppose it is absurd. For it involves this contradiction, that mind depends for aid upon that which as yet has no existence. And so the existence of

mind—an Infinite Mind—becomes an argument for the active existence of finite minds, apart from their physical organizations.

Yet further: the possibility of the soul's existence apart from matter, and so giving evidence of its immortality, is seen in this: consciousness supposes something that *is* conscious; that something, for which neither science nor philosophy provides us a name other than the "Ego," we call the substance in which the conscious something inheres. Now, this consciousness may and does exist apart from matter and independently of it, and is in no sense a particular result of a peculiar modification of its atoms. For this reason: if matter be conscious, and thinks, then the modification of which this is the legitimate result is a modification ordered by a foreexisting consciousness, or it is not. If it be, then, our position is granted; if it be not, we are driven to this conclusion, that matter has modified itself so as to produce a something infinitely superior to itself, and which it had not originally, thus contradicting one of the first axioms of philosophy, that nothing can communicate what it has not.

The importance of the foregoing train of thought in this discussion is great. For if consciousness and the power of thinking resulted from any mere modification of matter, the dissolution of the body would be also the death of what we term the soul; if, however, consciousness exist in independence of the body, and so that in which consciousness inheres, not only is proof positive obtained of the immateriality of the soul, but also proof presumptive of its existence after death. The fact, too, that the human mind can command matter, originate motion, and support it, and this in opposition to the natural *vis inertæ* of matter is not, in connection with our argument, unworthy of regard.

It is no valid objection against the soul's immateriality, that to all appearance it is, as some argue, in an unconscious state during sleep. It would be preposterous in the extreme to urge as an argument against the existence of a fact, that we cannot comprehend it. So that the soul may exist as an immaterial substance without our being able to explain everything in connection therewith. A thing may exist without its being apprehended in the sense of having the attention directed to it specially. And this goes to show that our state of unconsciousness during sleep—our being unable to give any account of ourselves, &c.—is no more proof of the non-existence of the soul than our being unable to prove the fact of our body living during sleep, because we were not conscious of it, is proof that we were not alive. And are not the intelligent

answers given to questions by persons during sleep proof that the mind is conscious? and that yet it may not, by a reflex operation upon itself, take cognizance of the same?

Considerable confusion has been caused in the discussion of this subject, by not keeping before the mind, in as definite a form as possible, the idea that the terms "life" and "death" are relative, the first being expressive of a particular mode of being, the second the negation or change of it.

It is allowed that the soul exists. Now, this must be through that power, differently exercised, which called it into being. And if it cease to exist, it must be through deprivation of the same. The possibility of this is inconceivable, inasmuch as the omnipresence of the Deity being universally extended, it must be accompanied by His essential omnipotence. And if it were possible to conceive a point of space or a point of time, where and when the omnipresence of Deity was not, and this omnipotence acts not, then it were possible to conceive the soul's dropping out of being through the absence of that which is essentially present, and the inoperativeness of that which is essentially operative; which is a palpable contradiction. And if it be supposed that God simply withdraws His supporting power, and that then, as a consequence, the soul sinks into nothingness, this does not relieve the difficulty. For then it conducts to the absurdity that there is a point of time when, notwithstanding the Deity's essential ubiquity and activity, He is universally present without being universally active.

Nor can the soul cease to exist through dissolution, or its corruptibility. That which cannot be corrupted must remain. That this is the case with the soul two things go to show—its immateriality and its unity. But, properly speaking, these two are only one; for that which is immaterial *must* be one; for matter, so far as we find it, is capable of being compounded or divided to any extent. Hence, to suppose the corruptibility of the soul is tantamount to conceding its materiality, which has been disproved. The soul, then, being a unit—a simple, uncompounded, immaterial substance—is indissoluble. Moreover, certain qualities or powers inhere in the human soul,—*e.g.* consciousness, the self-determining principle which we call the *will*, &c.,—and these are essential to the soul's being what it is. So long, therefore, as we can predicate the existence of either conscious or willing power, as they mutually support each other,—*i.e.*, as we cannot conceive these qualities to exist apart from the soul, nor the soul without them,—they must

both remain as they are. Thus the soul's own nature shows that it is destined for continuance or immortality.

We have no intention of replying to each and every objection brought against the doctrine which we have been advocating. Two systems, however, there are which call for observation, and to these our remarks will be confined. The systems referred to are Pantheism and Materialism. So far as Pantheism goes, though it allows of future existence, it is such only as becomes identical with non-existence; inasmuch as it is the absorption of the individual by the universal soul. Thus personal identity and individuality are lost, and so all, as far as the soul is concerned, that makes one's immortality an object of desire. When we deny, therefore, that Pantheism provides for our soul's immortality, the Pantheists suffer no wrong at our hands. For what they teach in this respect, amounts to little more than the Materialists' doctrine of annihilation.

As to Materialism, besides what has already been said, we may say thus much in addition. It is the glory of the Materialist that he takes cognizance of and deals with facts, from them elaborating his theory. And yet there are facts of human experience with which his system has no dealings, and for which it provides no place; and which, though at times they perplex him, he yet affects to regard as of no moment, simply because the chemist cannot analyze them, the anatomist dissect them, nor natural science resolve and rule them upon material principles. The rapturous anticipations of the good, and the fearful forebodings of the bad as to the future, are facts unaccounted for upon the theory laid down by Materialists. These are facts, too, upon which we insist with no small degree of emphasis. For upon the supposition that men sink into nothingness at death, there is for them no explanation; whilst men whose professed belief has been at variance with that of the soul's immortality, at times have so acted as to convince others that, in their heart, they have been strangely misgiving, and upon their own principles their feelings and conduct are inexplicably mysterious. And remembering the absurd consequences which inevitably follow the denial of the soul's immortality, we almost involuntarily think of the well-known lines of Addison:—

> "Whence springs this pleasing hope, this fond desire,
> This longing after immortality;
> And whence this secret dread, and inward horror
> Of falling into nought? Why shrinks the soul
> Back on herself, and startles at destruction?"

And now to crown the whole, we have the positive evidence of Christianity in favour of future existence—the evidence furnished by Him who brought life and immortality to light by the Gospel. It was a famous argument of Socrates, in the Phœdo, for the soul's immortality, that whatever has a contrary, owes its existence to that contrary; as handsome is the contrary of ugly, just of unjust; and that one begets the other, as sleep begets watchfulness, and watchfulness, sleep. And so death being the contrary of life, when it ensues, it begets that which is contrary to itself—LIFE. Therefore, death breeding life, the soul must be immortal. And so, to quote his own words: "The souls of the dead must remain in some place or other, from whence they return to life."* And what is this but a dim foreshadowing of the resurrection of the body as taught in the New Testament? For that which an enlightened ancient hoped might be true, and argued must be true, is confirmed by the teaching of Him who said, "The hour cometh when they that are in their graves shall come forth;" of Him who said, "I am the resurrection and the life." And thus we see in the resurrection of Jesus Christ the ground and hope of our own resurrection; and have, as our portion, the indwelling of the Holy Ghost sanctifying our hearts, and leading us to look forward to, and anticipate with joy, our going to be for ever with the Lord. Christianity thus comes in corroboration of other evidences of the soul's immortality, and teaches us to remember, as friend after friend departs, that we sorrow for them not as those who are without hope, for them that sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him. Yes, it tells us authoritatively of a future life, and that death is but our birth into a higher state. That this state in which we are now

> "Is but the bud of being,
> The dim dawn, the twilight of our day;
> Life's theatre as yet is shut; and death,
> Strong death alone can heave the massy bar,
> And make us embryos of existence free."
>
> E. HALL.

* Phœdo. Plato's Div., p. 189.

ART. V.—ON SOME SURE AND ULTIMATE GROUNDS OF FAITH.

FOR very obvious reasons an explanation of the use we make of the terms at the head of this article seems to be our first business. By sure and ultimate grounds of faith, then, we mean grounds on which we may or must ultimately build; grounds that will remain firm even if everything else fails, and on which, therefore, we may feel ourselves safe in the face of all controversy, ancient or modern, or both. To point out, describe, and examine all these grounds would require more space than the writer has allotted to him. He contents himself, therefore, with dealing with some of them.

In assuming that there are such sure grounds of belief, we are met at the very outset by certain difficulties suggested by the action of some of our scientific men. If we do not gravely misunderstand them, these men tacitly deny that we can get beyond the things we see, or hear, or touch. A few of them, indeed, explicitly maintain this. So that religion with them, as commonly received and believed in, is merely *superstition*. If we really cannot get to God at all, if we have nothing to do with the "final cause" of things, then we who are religious, in any old-fashioned sense, are in a sad delusion. If these matter-bound gentlemen do not mean this, what do they mean?

The plan we have before us, for the treatment of the subject in hand, does not absolutely require us elaborately to deal with this prolific phase of modern scepticism. Still, as we could not pass it in silence, we cannot leave it without another word or two.

We suggest to all concerned that, on the face of it, it does not appear reasonable, after all, to dispose of religion and religious men in this curt sort of way. For religion is a *fact*, one of the greatest facts of human life; and religious men are a *power*. But for the religious men of this country, our literature, our politics, our popular education, and, above all, our national morals would be emasculated. It is singularly bold, therefore, to regard them as being weak headed, and especially so to regard them because of that which, as a matter of fact, is the best thing in them or about them. Is then this best thing, in the best men of this nation, really a delusion and a snare? Are those who are, demonstrably, the salt of

the earth and the light of the world, ruled by mere fancies when they kneel before what to them is their Maker, to get help from Him? Can it be proved they are mistaken in supposing that, in what they call fellowship with Him, they become pure in thought and manly in deed? In view of these and kindred questions, which none of us can wholly suppress, we earnestly submit that *caution* best becomes both believers and unbelievers alike. To say the least of it, there is nothing worthy of the name of science, nothing in harmony with the honour due to really scientific men, in him who hastily says of all that we call supernatural—This is no legitimate part of the universe, and, therefore, all believers in it are governed by a lie!

Passing by several good and conclusive arguments, commonly urged against this mere materialism, we fix our attention, for a brief space, upon the *testimony of consciousness*. We do this partly because our consciousness suggests and answers the questions we have already asked, but chiefly because it is in the region of consciousness that the general question, between the natural and the supernatural, has ultimately to be decided.

What does consciousness say respecting those strange things which we sometimes call instinctive yearnings and tendencies of our nature? What of that habit of prayer, for instance, to which we have already incidentally referred? Are there not certain conditions in which we *cannot* help praying? Of course there are. When we are most anxious to keep all the laws of our manifold being, whatever those laws may be, we are most conscious of our yearning for the very centre and source both of the seen and the unseen; and, without being cruelly false to the most reliable part of our very selves, we cannot allow that this means nothing. As well say that the cry of the child for its absent mother means nothing. That cry, feeble though it be, means vastly more than any mere naturalist can explain in harmony with his creed. And we have just as much reason (and more even), to believe that the cry of man for the unseen One, baffles the creed of the naturalist too. It is *in* us to pray; and, though our logic may limp, and our theology be at times confused, yet our deepest and truest sense of the fitness of things will have it that prayer is not the cry of a madman who calls for he knows not what. Our hearts can only rest in the assurance that, as our prayer is the inevitable out-going of the spirit, so it indicates not only the existence of a "Father of spirits," but also the certainty that He will respond to our cry.

In the light shining from the same source, we look at man's ceaseless strifes and struggles; at his pitiful, yet noble, restlessness; at reforms and revolutions—political, social, civil, and religious. And the more we look at them, and study them, the more we feel compelled to regard them as instinctive manifestations of a sense of more than *material* wrong and defect, and as, at times, agonizing efforts to find more than *material* rest and safety.

To the same source also, and to the same end, we may easily trace all our visions and dreams, ideals, and hopes of the future. Of the character, kind, and number of these there is, of course, a vast variety. This is inevitable, as inevitable as varieties of constitution, or differences in education, or in nationality, or even in employment. All bodily, mental, and spiritual configurations and peculiarities, all education and all association, all circumstances and all conditions, all states of body and all moods of mind, have, and will have, something to do with the pictures the mind spontaneously fashions, and with the hopes it cherishes, or which cherish it. Hence, we should never expect the Lord Mayor of London to be, in this matter, like the shoe-black of the city, nor Thomas Carlyle like Dr. Cumming, nor the editor of *Punch* like Richard Baxter, nor Oliver Cromwell like Charles the First, nor the Pope like Garibaldi, nor the heathen like the Christian, nor, finally, him who is poor like him who is rich. Enough that all men, when they are at all conscious of themselves, wish for something, see something, in their hopes and efforts which they would like to have, or be, or do; something that cannot be found within the limits of what is rightly called nature, as distinct from the supernatural. That this is so is the fact on which life depends for all its deeper meaning, and for very much of its greatest interest. What, for instance, are our heroes, our great thinkers, and great workers, our poets and seers, but great spirits, mighty men, leading us on through many difficulties, and in face of many foes, to a land of promise which, to our earnest thought and feeling, at least, lies far beyond the things we see? Apart from this faith, which some call superstition, there were no Socrates, and no Plato; no Homer, no Shakespeare, and no Milton; no fictitious Romulus, and no real Oliver Cromwell; no Paul, and no Luther; no Moses, no Isaiah, and no Christ; and these great ones, the mention of whose names stirs the very depths of our nature, were but great waves of a great sea, and we the unconscious little waves that must move with the big ones.

To this and to all that is like it, both the head and the

heart demur. It is not in us to believe that, in these higher concerns, we are thus cruelly deluded. Consciousness turns in lofty scorn, or in trembling pity, towards the very idea of our being thus regarded as soulless *things*, instead of spiritual *powers*. Hence, notwithstanding, "unalterable laws of nature," and the "impossibility of miracle," in spite of being dogmatically assured that fate has put him into an iron cage, the doors of which cannot be opened, man groans and sighs, and struggles and prays to be delivered, and clings fast and firmly to his *elysium*, his *paradise* of the past, and his *heaven* of the future.

It should be vividly remembered, for reasons that will occur to all at once, that this testimony of the consciousness is especially clear and strong in what is called Christendom, and more especially in those who come most into contact with Christianity. We who know our own hearts, and something of Christ too, are quite sure that our revolutions of thought and feeling are more than the turnings of a wheel; that our pilgrimages are more than the movings of a thing. It is the quiet, unspoken, yet ever manifest, assumption of our daily life that there is *something* in us which means more than a snowdrift in winter; more than the breath of flowers in summer; more than golden harvests or barren wastes. The Christian man, above all men, must think and hope, and pray and believe. Touching Jesus Christ is not an indifferent thing. We cannot touch Him and be as if we had touched Him not. To see Him and hear Him is to *feel* Him. And, feeling Him, we wonder, more than we wondered before, concerning the things we count highest and most precious, because unseen, and, to our faith, eternal. Whatever the man of Nazareth be, or be not, in other matters, history and experience demonstrate Him to be the mightiest moral and spiritual force the world has ever known. He has moved the human world to its very depths, more than any other being; more than any thing; more than all other beings, more than all things combined. To be honest, every thorough student of morals, or philosophy, or theology, or history, or even metaphysics, must acknowledge, for good or for evil, the pre-eminent power of Him who once said, "All power is given unto Me." Assuredly, He has raised the consciousness of Christendom as an impassable barrier before those who try to shut us up within the realm of things which are seen. Their whole teaching, indeed, "is to us a mockery, against which all our deepest wants and highest personal affinities are raised up, as it were, in mutinous protest. If there is nothing but God and

nature, and God Himself has no relations to nature, save just to fill it and help it on its way, then, being ourselves a part of nature, we are only a link, each one, in a chain let down into a well, where nothing else can ever touch us but the next link above. Oh, it is horrible! Our soul freezes at the thought! We want, we must have, something better—a social footing, a personal, and free, and flexible, and conscious relation with our God; that He should cross over to us, or bring us over the dark styx of nature unto Himself, to love Him, to obtain His recognition, to receive His manifestation, to walk in His guidance, and be raised to that higher footing of social understanding and spiritual concourse with Him, where our inborn affinities find their centre and rest. And what we earnestly want, we know that we shall assuredly find. The prophecy is in us, and whether we call ourselves prophets or not, we shall certainly go on to publish it. It is the inevitable first fact of natural conviction with us. Do we not know, each one, that he is more than a thing or a wheel, and, being consciously a man, a spirit, a creature supernatural, will he hesitate to claim a place with such, and claim for such a place?"*

In taking present leave of our scientific sceptics, and of all others who deny the supernatural, and, therefore, the very *possibility* of certainty in religious belief, we have only two things to say. First, Gentlemen, we thank you for the help you have given us in causing us to be more careful in our statements, more exact in our definitions, and for drawing us to a re-examination of the general grounds of our faith. But, secondly, we feel *that within us* which will not allow us to give up our belief in things unseen.

In passing on, to deal more directly with the assumption we have thus tried to justify, or rather, whose justification we have tried to uncover, we are forcibly reminded that the discussion of such, among other and kindred questions, greatly strengthens our original sympathy with Harrington in the "Eclipse of Faith," when, in reply to Fellowes's question—"What is it that you want?" he said—"What do I want? I want a certainty, or a quasi-certainty on those points on which, if a man is content to remain uncertain, he is a fool or a brute." Who among us is there, indeed, that really knows what sort of a world he lives in, and what his fellows are believing and saying and doing, who does not feel it to be all important to have a firm footing for himself? Moreover, it may be some of us have had a temporary fear lest our youth-

* Bushnell, "Nature and the Supernatural"—pp. 36, 37.

ful creed should fail us, even as F. W. Newman's failed him, though, to say the least of it, it were a pity, and a mystery too, to abandon the home-faith so quickly as he did, and with such apparent ease. Amid the many discussions we have had, are having, and doubtless shall have, on very important subjects—Inspiration, Atonement, the future state, the person of Christ, &c., &c.—we must have asked, and that anxiously, how can these questions be settled? How and where may we rest? On what shall we stand in confidence, being able to stamp our foot, and say to every brother man who speaks to us on the subject, Sir, this is *solid rock?* To answer these questions will really be to accomplish the chief purpose of this article.

First, lying at the very foundation of every justifiable sense of safety is *a practical and conscious truthfulness of disposition*; that which we mean when we use such words as *sincerity, candour, honesty, conscientiousness.* This subjective truthfulness will lead to earnest search for objective truth, and to a loyal devotion to it when it is found. The supreme question with the man thus endowed will not be as to what is fashionable, or, in all respects, agreeable, but as to what is true; as to what appeals to him, not as a son, or as a citizen, or as a member of a church, but as a *man.* The whole of his manifold nature—the spiritual, the moral, the mental, and even the physical parts of him—must be allowed full, free, and orderly exercise, and thus be set upon the plane of ultimate satisfaction, or assurance of safety. To reach such assurance of safety, in this way, must be the man's purpose. And he must be *sure,* in his conscience and reason, that this is the case before he can claim to be resting on a worthy foundation.

Two points in this our first position should be closely and distinctly noted. First, its bearing towards outward *human* authority; and, secondly, towards outward *divine* authority. The first it ignores, in so far as arbitrary ruling power goes. It will gladly accept all the help his fellows can render; but it will not allow the man to be ruled against his own mind and heart. It thus accepts "private judgment," not only as one of the pivots of our glorious Protestantism, but as a natural right and sacred duty. Of course it does not shut out every human teacher. But it resolutely demands that all faith should be sanctioned by reason. As far as possible he who is taught must be led to understand his teacher, and allow himself to be led because he understands; and when he trusts without understanding, he must have a reason for so doing. It is at his

awful peril that he has faith in his fellows as the price of loss of superior faith in himself. As a man, in dealing with his fellow-men, if he would have a manly sense of safety, he must "be fully persuaded in his own mind."

As to outward *divine* authority. *A priori* we should presume that no authority of this kind would attempt to rule us by any other means than, first, the natural and lawful action of our being; or, secondly, by means really in harmony with that action. And is not this actually the case? We have no reason to suppose, and, therefore, no right to say, that God ever requires us to act either above or below, beyond or beside, the nature He has given to us. Of course, as He is a perfect being, knowing the end from the beginning, and ever having a view to His final purposes, His dealings with us must have chief primary reference to what we should be according to His own design and almighty decree, and not to what we actually are by sin. Hence, in His treatment of us, from this, among other things, we must expect large demands on our faith. Seeing that He is God and knows all, and we are His creatures knowing but in part, it were wild to uttermost wildness to suppose that, in His government of this mysterious thing called human nature, or in any department of His infinite action, He will not do or say anything but what we can comprehend. We should, and do, rather have it as a settled point that, in His awful presence, we should be made to feel how little and ignorant, as well as how sinful, we are. But then the faith we are required to have in Him is based on what He is in Himself, and on what He is to us, and is, therefore, the very highest and most rational act of the soul.

Granted the requisite knowledge, indeed, we cannot conceive how a man can possess the truthfulness of disposition just mentioned and explained, without being settled in supreme faith in God, as well as in faith in himself. Granted the knowledge of God, consciousness clearly and emphatically assures us that the only way of being true to ourselves is to be loyal to Him; that we can have no rational faith in ourselves that is not regulated and guided by supreme faith in Him. If, therefore, after this discussion, we were disposed to elaborate our first proposition, we might state it thus:—Lying at the very foundation of every justifiable sense of safety is a practical and conscious truthfulness of disposition; that which legitimately declares duty to himself and to God the fixed purpose of the man's life. What we have said clearly shows that the latter part of this proposition logically results from the former, and, taking it as a whole, it makes a resistless appeal to the

indisputable testimony of enlightened consciousness. That we live is not a more certain fact to us than that a man is safe when he is conscious that he is seeking earnestly and constantly to be what his nature, rightly understood and rightly ruled, prompts to, and what God, his indisputable Creator and Governor, has designed.

Before passing on to the next essential part of our subject, we request the reader to notice one special advantage possessed by him who is blessed with this first element of manly assurance. While, as we have intimated, it leaves him open and anxious to receive instruction and help from all available sources, it also secures him from two opposite evils—the superstition of credulity on the one side, and the superstition of scepticism on the other.

And now, supposing a man to have arrived at the state thus set forth, what must be his next step? Granting that his supreme desire is to do God's will, where and how shall he best learn that will, and be enabled to do it? Where and how shall he thus realize what we have called *the fixed purpose* of his life, by being at once loyal to God and faithful to himself? By a common profession, not a small number look to Christianity for answers to these questions, Such being the case, we are called upon to justify ourselves to ourselves and to the world; to show the solidity and safety of the foundation of our Christian faith, or to accept such alternatives as may be legitimately laid before us. For this we are prepared, and so proceed calmly and without fear.

Secondly, we are safe in accepting the Lord Jesus Christ *as our Head in all things.* And we shall show, as we ought to do, that the acceptance of this second proposition logically follows the acceptance of the first; that he who has the "truthfulness of disposition" already explained and discussed, is thereby morally bound to receive Jesus Christ as his Head. For this purpose we ask for nothing more, to begin with, than that Christ be dealt with in common fairness, that the Gospels be taken, in the main, as His life, and that we treat the life therein contained just as we should any other. We may ask this confidently, for, just now, we have nothing to do with those who reject the Gospels altogether. We appeal rather and specially to those who accept the Gospels, and therefore Him of whom they speak, but who make exceptions on what they call "rational grounds." With this request and explanation we proceed. It seems clear to us that our task will be accomplished by indicating, first, the pre-eminence of the person and character of Christ, and then, secondly, by

showing that His Headship naturally and inevitably results from His pre-eminence.

We begin with the remark that, both as to personal excellence and consequent personal authority, we have in Him the realization of all the world's best ideals. To Him, indeed, the world owes its very purest and best conceptions, and perceptions, too, of person and character. And yet, after the devoutest study of His claims to pre-eminence, aided by all the images of beauty which that study brings before us, we become more and more settled in the conviction that He is *perfection* itself, in so far as we can conceive of it. Of course we are aware that such men as Theodore Parker have talked of what they call His "limitations," His "errors," and even His "sins." But it does not require much study to see how utterly void of proof such charges are. The methods sometimes taken to support them are, for shallowness and impudence, past all sufferance. Now and then, indeed, such astounding things are said, in such astounding ways, that our greatest wonder is that they who say them should, at the same time, scornfully deny human depravity. But the very extravagance in which they indulge works against themselves, and drives those who believe in Jesus nearer and nearer to Him. F. W. Newman declares that "in consistency of goodness He (Jesus) is far below vast numbers of His honoured disciples." But he must be a feeble believer indeed, whose faith should be at all disturbed by such a sentence as that. We should, and do, rather feel that he who writes thus exhausts all allowable charity. We cannot hold an argument with him; he denies the light at noon-day. In the name of all that is sacred, do let us be lawfully liberal. But, at the same time, we must loath and despise these positive indecencies. It rests with One higher than we to say whether such effusions come of *sincerity* of soul. But we should be cowards among the cowardly to allow that which is simply disgusting in its blackness of lies to drive us from Him before whom we bow our souls. Passing on, however, we confess to an influence adverse to our thought of Christ, as the perfect or pre-eminent One, stealing over us when reading and pondering, in solitude and quietness, the less open, more subtle, and refined of such writers as those indicated—Rénan for instance. But even this vanishes, like a mad fit of nervousness before a brisk walk in a bracing wind, when we turn in common candour to the Evangelists. In the presence of these simple-minded men, the perfection of Jesus is indisputable; hence all Christendom receives it as a *settled fact*. It is not

orthodox to deny it. Even the heterodox who deny His *perfection* (with one exception—Newman), hold to His *pre-eminence*, and acknowledge Him to be *the highest and best of the race*. This, surely, will be granted. And if so, for our present argument we are quite content. We stand upon this acknowledged perfection or pre-eminence of Jesus, feeling ourselves to have good footing. Nothing is surer than that in our best and highest moments (the spirit within us being the judge), we ardently long to be all that it is possible for us to be, all human resources and all divine help being joined to lead us on and draw us out. And in the best experiences of the best of mankind there is a yearning, come whence it may, for some living embodiment of the fullest and best possible. We say the yearning is there, come whence it may. And, holding, as we have before contended, that God cannot have left us in cold and deadly isolation from Himself, it does not seem reasonable to doubt either the whence or the wherefore of this cry of humanity. Surely if anything be of God, this is. And, even if it be not, we are no less bound to follow our highest and best, if we are to be faithful to ourselves. But we cannot help believing that it is. Heart and mind, the purest and most blessed hope, and the worthiest ambition of which we can conceive, say it is, while all about us, above us, and beneath us, responds, Amen. So let it be. We are therefore sure, if we can be sure of anything, that all pictures of beauty, all images of excellence, all dreams of a better day, all visions of the higher glories of our manhood, are God's work within us; and when, with quivering spirits and throbbing hearts, or in a thrilling sense of wondrous power, we long to find our heaven in a finished and perfected nature, it were blackest treason against our very selves to doubt that God is speaking to us, whether it be by what is natural or by what is supernatural. If, at such saintly and delicious seasons, we know ourselves, we cannot help saying "How far, Lord, and how much? Is there any brother in all this world who will show us what is possible, and what is supremely desirable? Is there one who responds in Thy name, O Lord, to these yearnings of ours?" There is. Jesus of Nazareth responds to them. And so, in accepting Him as our head in all things, we trust and are not afraid.

For this perfection, as we have intimated, means corresponding authority, or carries the right to such authority along with it. It is self-evident that he who is highest in person and character has in Himself an indisputable right to the first and highest place in authority. If, therefore, Jesus claims to be the Christ of God, and He does, we have a sufficient warrant for the claim

claim in His person and character. And there ought to be a perfect sense of harmony in us when He takes His place as Master and King.

Some of the writers already referred to profess to believe in the possibility of something beyond both Christ and Christianity. The world marches on, leaving one stage of development for another, and one leader for another; and the leaders have not yet ceased to arrive. And so, just as Christ was superior to Moses, there will come another superior to Christ. And though most of them very frankly grant that a superior does not actually exist, they yet tell us they can conceive of such a one. But of these men we demand two things. First, that they give us this higher conception; and, secondly, that they also secure to it the undoubting response of mind and heart as Jesus does. A few of them may try to do the former, but none of them can do the latter. In the very nature of the case, therefore, as it actually stands, we are shut up to Jesus Christ. Consciousness compels us to regard Him as *the* Word of God, for which men have been listening all down the ages. God has spoken through others; through others He has pointed the race to Himself. By others He has told of truth and righteousness. But, as in Jesus we have more than the realization of "the dreams of prophets and sages;" as in person and character He stands demonstrably first and highest, it is but matter of course that to Him every knee should bow, and every tongue confess Him Lord. Because of what He is in Himself we cannot be true to ourselves without receiving Him as our Head in all things. Given his perfection or pre-eminence in person and character, and His supreme Headship must follow. We have indicated how the former is an established fact, and we think we have clearly proved the latter, thus demonstrating the soundness of our second proposition, and redeeming our promise to show how the acceptance of the second logically follows the acceptance of the first.

But, having got thus far, we are met by several questions which we must try to answer. How is this reception of Jesus, in this way, affected by His actual teaching, mission, and work? Or how are they affected by it? Such are the questions which here arise, and with which we shall now candidly deal.

As a rule, there can be no doubt that in all He professes, in all He does, and in all He says, Jesus makes His appeal to us in full harmony with the principles already discussed; that, in relation to His offices, as well as in relation to His person,

He seeks to be verified by reason and conscience. He never seeks to drive, but simply to lead; to lead by enlightenment, by conviction, by the free, harmonious, and sweet choice of the affections and will. With the most winning candour, confidence, and tenderness, He asks the fullest examination of His claims. He even goes so far as to make it the heaviest charge against those who reject Him, not that they will not blindly submit to Him, but that they shut their eyes and then deny the light. By this charming feature of His character, Jesus has indeed given some of His disciples the most vivid sense of their individuality and corresponding responsibility and dignity. When they first went to Him, they were not very clear upon anything. They went as the result of training, and with considerable listlessness or confusion of mind. But now they feel themselves. And to those who are ever driving them back upon themselves they can very honestly say—"why He whom we serve does this very thing better than any of you—better than all of you combined; and when He has thus driven us back upon ourselves, our whole nature, in instinctive response, drives us back again to Him. And this is one of our strongest arguments for remaining with Him. As thus reason and conscience are asked to respond to His claims, and do so respond, the very first essential principle of manly safety demands that we stay in His school, and continue loyal subjects of His kingdom."

But, whilst such is the rule, it must be admitted that there are a few seeming exceptions—seeming at least. Several Christian doctrines there are which do not—at first sight at any rate—appear to appeal directly to the reason and conscience in the way described. Of these we will select for illustration two, viz., the Trinity and the Atonement. It is admitted that, no matter how stated, these, with some other articles of orthodox belief, present problems which reason of itself cannot solve. What then? Are we therefore to reject them? Hardly so. In full consistency with what we have already advanced, we submit the following rules as comprehending the wisest course. First—On these disputed doctrines, as in everything else, let each man satisfy himself, as far as he can, as to what it is the Lord Jesus really teaches. Secondly, let us then go as far as reason and conscience will allow us, and trust for the rest to Him who has already established His right to guide us. He knows infinitely more than we do. Faith in Him, therefore—the faith which patiently waits for further light, or implicitly believes in the superior light of its guide—is always much more reasonable than the scepticism which

turns away in offence because all cannot be at once and in the same way comprehended. This position is confirmed by the very manifest fact that these mysteries are so closely interwoven with the simplest truths of the Gospel that, apart from them, there is really no distinctive Gospel at all. To deny them is to deny it. The question we have ultimately to decide, therefore, is whether we will give up the precious truth we do understand, because of that, which, in its inner retreat, eludes our grasp; or whether we will retain the precious truth, bowing reverently before Him who has freely given it to us, and who cannot mislead us in things too high or too deep for us. And with such an alternative we surely cannot hesitate. Let it be further remembered that, whilst we are forbidden thus to deny these secret things, we are not called upon to dogmatise upon them in the dark. It would have been well if some of our would-be teachers had done less of this. Endless mischief has been caused by a morbid meddling with unrevealed secrets. The safest thing seems to be to take the doctrines of Christ as we find them, without forcing definitions and explanations of our own where He has left them undefined and unexplained. That there is something, for instance in what is called the Trinity, and that the orthodox view of it is substantially correct, we are not warranted, on any mere plea of mystery, to deny. But, at the same time, it is quite clear that so much attempted exposition and definition is worse than useless. To some minds it is even irreverent, for we have no right to take our miserable logic into the secrets of God's being.

Here then is our conclusion. Though the doctrines before us are somewhat exceptional, yet, when rightly treated, there is really nothing in them to interfere with that reception of the Lord Jesus in connection with which we have been led to discuss them. After the fullest study of them, we may still well ask, "Lord to whom shall we go?" And then we may add, passionately and confidently, "Thou hast the words of eternal life."

The whole of what we have written may be summarised thus: first, consciousness leads us to God, and to seek for safety in the supernatural. Secondly, consciousness assures us we are safe in seeking to be true to ourselves, and loyal to God. Thirdly, this logically leads to the reception of the Lord Jesus Christ as our Head in all things, because of His manifest and established pre-eminence in person and character. Fourthly this position, which is our chief and central one, is supported by the fact that, as a rule, His appeals to us are verified in our

reason and conscience. Fifthly, it is wise to submit to the seeming exceptions to this rule, first, because of what is due to Him who has, on previous grounds, established His right to guide us; and, secondly, because we cannot give up part of the Gospel without giving up the whole. We thus make our final appeal from enlightened consciousness to Christ, and from Christ to enlightened consciousness; and on the response of each to the other, and on the united testimony of both we stand, and will stand, so long as we have any rational faith at all in ourselves.

Resting on this basis, when we see men nibbling, mouse-like, at small questions of chronology, and variations in narrative, we are not forthwith alarmed, like the man who should shout ruin! because a mouse happened to be at the cheese. We can well afford to say, let them nibble, seeing it is a poor establishment that cannot keep a mouse or two. Or, if the mice must needs be driven away, we will gladly remember that no giant is required for the business; the cat can do it. In all seriousness, however, we say, inspiration or no inspiration, errors in dates, or no errors in dates, in these Gospels the Evangelists somehow bring the pre-eminent One before us. In presence of this central fact we hold ourselves in peace and quietness. We affect no undue indifference to these minor things. Even what has been said about Noah's ark, the deluge, the plural or the single authorship of the Pentateuch, and all kindred questions are deeply interesting to us. Nor are we afraid these things will fail us, in so far as the substance of them is concerned. But even if they should, the faith we have adopted will still rest on rational grounds. So long as Jesus holds His present place in the Bible and in fact, our foundations are absolutely immoveable.

One practical lesson, therefore, to be deduced from the whole is that, if we want to feel safe amid the controversies of the time, we must cultivate a deeper and more comprehensive acquaintance with Him whom we have made our all. Be it ours, then, to know Him more as the Christ of God, and the Saviour of men; as the divine and human One who brings the whole family of us to God and heaven. Falling down with all humility and teachableness at His feet, let us give to Him all the faith and all the obedience of our hearts and lives. And doing so we shall feel, even more than we have felt, how brotherly, as well as how kingly He is; how human, as well as how divine. Thus, doubtless, we shall be led back to the point whence we started in early youth.

But, though we may have to talk of "wandering far and finding little," yet it is something to have arrived by the process of our own thoughts at a blessed sense of safety. And this fact may well increase our pleasure—that though those who trained us knew nothing of modern scepticism—nothing of Christian evidences but such as are suggested by the ninth chapter of John's Gospel, yet they were right when they taught us to sing of Him by whom "the thoughts of many hearts are revealed," "Thy mighty Name salvation is."

We may sing the same blessed words now as of old. Not for just the same reasons, perhaps, but with the same sweet and holy assurance. And though "the old folks at home" may have been led to wonder what was about to happen to us, they will surely be satisfied so long as we can join them in devotion, having the springs of our life touched by supreme love to the same Master.

Here, then, is our rest, saying, as we do, with one whose book called "Vie de Jésus," is as inconsistent, and, therefore, as false, as it is beautiful:—"Whatever may be the unexpected phenomena of the future, Jesus will not be surpassed. His worship will constantly renew its youth, the tale of His life will cause ceaseless tears. His sufferings will soften the best hearts; all the ages will proclaim that, among the sons of men, there is none born who is greater than Jesus."

W. M.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Memorials of the late Rev. William M. Bunting; being selections from his sermons, letters, and poems. Edited by the Rev. G. Stringer Rowe. With a biographical introduction by Thomas Percival Bunting. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1870.

This volume is not to be placed in the ordinary class of Lives and Remains. The preliminary biography is, as the editor remarks, a sketch ably done, and lovingly appreciative of its subject. It is also written with exquisite taste, not as a work of art but of affection, unveiling to us, not for the purpose of ostentation, but with true delicacy of feeling, domestic scenes of the most interesting character. The miniature picture of Mr. Bunting's early home-life, given on pp. 4 and 5, and which we would gladly transfer to our pages would space allow, is one on which the eye and heart of many a reader will long linger. Though the writer meant it not, he has thrown a halo around the memory of his beloved parents; and those who would be disposed to enter the lists with Dr. Bunting as the ecclesiastical legislator, will feel their hearts beat warmly with Dr. Bunting, the father.

But we must give our readers a specimen of what they will find in this memoir by presenting to them the admirably-drawn sketch it contains of the model Methodist minister:—

"He is a man of devout and earnest piety. He loves supremely his proper work of preaching, and of spiritual intercourse with his people. To qualify him then for this work, he is a daily student of the Word; and its wondrous things are continually revealed to the open eye of his reverence and faith. He is generally bookish and studious, and can find food for his public and private ministrations in every library, while his own is select, but various and extensive; bright with the presence of the fathers and saints of all ages, and of the thinkers, not always saints, of all schools. His tastes, too, are in constant cultivation: for these are God's own special means, at once quickening and quieting his soul; they win the sympathy of spirits similarly constituted; they tell insensibly, but surely, upon the coarser humanity which generally surrounds him. He is frank, open, unreserved, natural; never concealing the man, never forgetting the minister; mirthful, when that is his vein; with a quick eye and ear for the humorous; with a wise wittiness always at command, but always expended with discretion. He studies human nature—human nature as it is to begin with, and as divine grace developes, modifies, and sanctifies it; and few men have so many opportunities of observing it. He is loving, and tender, and forbearing, but with no counterfeit

amiabilities of demeanour and address. He does not shun the 'house of feasting,' for he is there to freshen up himself and others, to teach and learn, to guide and check; but it is better for him in 'the house of mourning'—his schoolroom and his palace. He lives in constant fellowship with brethren in the same ministry, and they and he understand each other as no fraternity in the world beside. They have one charge, one aim, one motive. Each knows that the others are contributing to the common object some aptitude or force which must be supplied, but in which he feels himself more or less deficient. The hungry multitude are to be fed; and whilst he dispenses the loaves, his brother disciple is distributing the fishes. Then there is the whole body of Methodist ministers, whom he meets and welcomes periodically in conventions, whose best result is that they promote mutual knowledge, affection, and oneness of heart; or whom he meets but seldom, and so thinks of and prays for all the more—the great, humble men who labour or languish in other lands. But my portrait of a high-class Methodist minister lacks its completeness yet. Such a man is so much a Methodist as to belong in spirit to all Christian communities. He takes pains to understand them. He mingles largely in their society. He reads their books and records. He construes favourably their avowed opinions. His heart yearns after 'the Christ,' not 'that is to be,' but is now in them. Why a Methodist, if this be not his experience and life? Why not a Romanist, in or out of the English Church? Or one of those Nonconformists—there are such—who, less consistent and logical than Romanists, vaunt themselves of the exclusive Scripturalness of their systems of Church government? Or a Jew, with traditions so very certain, and so decidedly respectable, that some ultra-Ritualists are in these times courting his communion? My ideal is a politician too; else, less than other Christians, does he know 'what to pray for as he ought;' not a busy, fussy politician, seen and heard as often as he can get a hearing, at every gathering of partisans; but a calm watcher and patient helper of the sure processes by which the kingdoms of the world become the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ; roused now and then, when some intolerable evil threatens, to fearless speech and action; always standing up for the wronged and wretched; never courting, never shirking, contest for the truth."—pp. 20-22.

The liberality of sentiment which pervades this brief biography is most refreshing to a Christian mind. It does one good to see the strait jacket of bigotry, not formally taken off and laid aside for the purpose of parade and show, but bursting asunder by the expansive force of true Christian charity; and we cannot but regard it as auguring well for the future of Methodism when a son of Dr. Bunting, whose attachment to Wesleyan ecclesiastical orthodoxy none will question, can refer to James Bromley, as one "whose separation from us was not occasioned by spite, or self-conceit, or a mad love of contention, but the magnifying of little matters into great ones, and by a misconception of the meaning of a certain passage in the New Testament;" and can speak of Joseph Beaumont as "none the less truly a good man if he was distrustful of dignities, and less happy among some of his brethren than he would have been if he had known them better."

There are some admirable remarks on the union which some, in

our day, are sighing for with an unction deceiving the "very elect," to which all who love the truth, as in Jesus, will give their earnest assent. We believe, with Mr. Percival Bunting, that catholicity of spirit is fostered by the very genius of Methodism, but unhappily all who bear its name do not apprehend, nor are inspired by, its genius. We believe, however, a process of enlightenment on the subject is going on which will end in glorious results both for Methodism and Christianity.

We must refer our readers to the biography itself for an estimate of the Rev. W. M. Bunting as a man, a Christian, and a Christian minister. Our ministerial readers will find many a hint and suggestion which will help to a more acceptable or efficient performance of their duties, and much also that will tend to the strengthening of their true Christian life. Our lay friends, too, may, perhaps, be none the worse for reading what is said on impatience at the preaching of long sermons. Mr. Bunting preached such sermons, and the habit "shut him out of many pulpits; was the source of frequent and sore temptation; grieved many people of average goodness; brought down upon him painful advisers, some of them, in their days of early zeal, as protracted preachers as himself, but who now, for the sake of usefulness, as they thought, had changed their ways, and fed their people with 'crumbs' from tables loaded with 'the children's bread,' as though 'the little flock' were *not* 'of more value than many sparrows.' But he remained firm."

The editor says that as many of Mr. Bunting's most powerful utterances were wholly unpremeditated, some will search in vain in the sermons given, for well-remembered passages. We had the privilege of hearing Mr. B. preach twice only, and that was some forty years ago, in the days of our boyhood. When we saw that one of these sermons was in the volume, we hastily turned to it to see if it contained a passage which embodied an idea that laid strong hold of our youthful imagination. To our joy we found the passage, though, if our memory be correct, slightly amplified. It is the following :—

"Consider, also, that the place whither Jesus resorted for devotional purposes was one which had *long been rendered interesting to Him by a variety of associations*. One of them would be peculiarly interesting, and we will dwell upon it for a moment or two.

"That spot was eventually the scene of His agony, and His delivery unto death; and it is natural to think that, whenever He visited it for the purpose of prayer, He foresaw and felt a deeper interest in it as such. 'He was wont' to go 'to the Mount of Olives;' and never could He go without the thought, that that was to be the scene of His nearly final and fiercest sufferings; and you may well conceive how greatly such prospect

would solemnize His spirit, and would add fervour and importunity to His supplications!

"Now this, my dear hearers, is a thought which I would fain leave upon your minds. It is a consideration, the touching and instructive nature of which you can readily and fully appreciate. Let me just recollect myself. *My* familiar and favourite retreat, when the wonted hour of private prayer has arrived, is—my *chamber*. Ah! it will not improbably be, sooner or later, my sick-chamber, where I shall languish, and suffer and die. Stirring thought! How it will animate my daily devotions, Here, is it not likely, I may receive the summons to exchange my prayer! for everlasting praises? Hither am I one day to be carried in the arms of my friends, never to return till carried down dead in my coffin. Hence is my happy spirit to take its flight for paradise. On that bed is my poor, frail frame of flesh and blood to pass previously through a dread ordeal of affliction. Within *these* walls am I to battle with my final foe. On *this* important spot am I successively—through the sore assaults of my 'last enemy,' on the one hand, and the 'dear might' of my last, firmest, and most faithful Friend, on the other—to struggle and prevail; to sigh for help, and to shout victory; to encounter and to overcome 'the sharpness of death.' Then, every time that I bend my knee on this spot, like a soldier kneeling on the field of battle, I will remember where I kneel; I will think of the coming conflict; I will arm myself against the evil day, and will 'pray' with my Master 'the more earnestly.' Then, when the hour shall come, and I shall be, perhaps, writhing in the agony of pain, where I have often wrestled in the agony of prayer, oh, how sustaining to turn to these blest religious retirements! Well, here I have been, through grace, a frequent visitant; this 'place is holy ground,' hallowed by devotion, perfumed with the incense of many prayers, permanently illuminated, as it were, by the oft-repeated and long-lingering manifestation of the divine glory. This little spot is deeply endeared to me, and I believe my God loves it too, so often has He met me here; and now that I am riveted to it by painful yet pleasing providential constraint, will He leave me lonely and forlorn? Oh no! it is not in His nature! Affliction and distress will not scare Him from this His 'wonted' place of resort. He will meet me as ever; He will bless me more than ever. I have often wished, when enjoying some precious season of refreshing from His presence, that I could tarry here always. Such a felicity was not *then* vouchsafed me. But *now* it is, and I expect to have 'showers of blessing.'

'O Love, how cheering is Thy ray!
All pain before Thy presence flies;
Care, anguish, sorrow, melt away,
Where'er Thy healing beams arise.'

"I often used to pray at the foot of the bed there, that, whenever suffering should overtake me, I might receive a rich supply of suffering strength; and I then, alone, often felt a Divine assurance that the prayer was registered in heaven, and would at the proper season be answered. It was none other than God Himself who gave me that assurance, and this I will now plead before Him; I will, with humble boldness, refer Him to His own inward pledge—that faith of *His* operation which is itself the pledge of the blessing believed for; I will refer Him to this, as well as to His written promise in Christ Jesus, and I shall, I must, *I feel I do*, prevail. O blest spot! My God is here still! Thrice-privileged retreat! A sick chamber converted into a sanctuary! Nay,

'Jesus comes with my distress,
And agony is heaven.'"—pp. 75-77.

We attempt no critical estimate of Mr. Bunting as a letter-writer or a poet. We shall be surprised, however, if both his hymns and

letters do not take a respectable and permanent place in these departments of Christian literature. The volume contains forty-three letters, some of moderate length, and about one hundred poetical pieces, arranged under the headings of Hymns—Domestic—Memorial —Miscellaneous. Those who wish to know what Methodist life and character in their best forms are (that is, when joined with high culture and intelligence), should read this volume; while every Methodist family should deem itself enriched by the possession of a copy.

Treatise on the Physical Cause of the Death of Christ, and its relation to the principles and practice of Christianity. By WILLIAM STROUD, M.D. Second edition, with appendix, containing a letter on the subject by Sir James Y. Simpson, Bart., M.D. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1871.

THE object of this treatise is to show that agony of mind, producing rupture of the heart, was the immediate cause of the death of Christ. The argument appears to us to be as conclusive as an argument on such a subject can be. For though, as Sir James Simpson admits, that the immediate cause of the death of our blessed Saviour was—speaking medically—laceration or rupture of the heart, is a doctrine in regard to which there can be no absolute certainty; yet our author shows in favour of it that there is a very large amount of circumstantial probability, while the theological branch of the argument strengthens the medical. The subject is deserving the especial attention of theological students, and whether they adopt the views advocated by Dr. Stroud or not, they will find that his book will repay a careful perusal.

Its contents are more ample than the title page intimates. It contains an appendix of notes and illustrations on the erroneous readings of the Vatican manuscript, on crucifixion, on agony, and bloody sweat, on rupture of the heart from mental emotion, on the blood and water which flowed from the side of Christ, on the darkness of the sun and moon during His sufferings, on Peter's denials, and on the Scriptural use of the terms Covenant and Testament. In these notes much interesting and valuable information, both medical and Biblical, is given.

Commentary on the New Testament. By JAMES MORISON, D.D. The Gospel of Mark. Parts 13, 14, 15. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1870.

OUR readers will see that Dr. Morison is proceeding with his com-

mentary, and so far as we have examined the three numbers that have reached us, we must give the same warm and earnest commendation to it that we gave to the commentary on Matthew. Indeed, in many respects, it strikes us as an improvement on its predecessor.

Lights and Shadows in the Life of King David. By CHARLES VINCE. London: Stock. 1871.

THIS excellently got-up book contains ten studies in the life of David, relating to interesting and important incidents in that monarch's eventful career. As the title indicates, these incidents are not all of a similar character, David's faults as well as his virtues being descanted upon; his treacherous wickedness towards Uriah, as well as his generous forbearance towards Saul when he had the power to take his life. Among the subjects treated are his victory over Goliath, his friendship with Jonathan, his intercourse with Nabal the churl, his desire to build a temple for God, &c.

These studies are not critical or speculative disquisitions, intended to excite and gratify intellectual curiosity, but practical discourses on the incidents or conduct reviewed, pervaded with a direct and powerful ethical application. The reader now finds his conscience probed and his heart smitten with a consciousness of his own failings and sins; or his trust in the mercy of God as a sinner is strengthened; while as a saint he is encouraged to put unbounded confidence in the divine faithfulness and sufficiency. With a skilful hand and an earnest heart, David's faults and excellences are made profitable to all wise and understanding hearts for reproof, for correction, and for instruction in righteousness. The impression left on our own mind by the perusal of the work is most salutary. While our taste has been more than ordinarily gratified by its literary qualities, spiritually its perusal has been to us a feast of fat things, sensibly ministering to the renewal and invigoration of our Christian life. The author has felicitously realised his aim to show that there is some lesson for to-day, in these recorded facts, in the life of him who, in such far-off time, "served his generation by the will of God, fell asleep, and was laid unto his fathers."

Symbols of Christ. By CHARLES STANFORD, author of "Central Truths," &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1870.

EVERY lover of Jesus, we think, who reads Mr. Stanford's book, will feel his heart warm towards the writer for the admirably instructive and edifying way in which he has expounded the symbols of Christ

supplied to us in the Scriptures. There is a combination of qualities in these discourses but rarely found in those of highest excellence. The themes would be very tempting to many minds to the display of a maudlin sentimentalism, or the exercise of an undisciplined imagination, but Mr. Stanford handles them with perfect sobriety of judgment, and true healthiness of feeling. He is at once critical and devout, keeps to the real meaning of Scripture, and yet does not lose the unction in the letter; opens the hidden depths of Christian experience, and yet teaches those who are Christ's how they ought to walk and please God.

Ad Clerum: Advices to a Young Preacher. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., author of "Ecce Deus," &c., &c. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster Row. 1870.

THESE "Advices" appeared originally in the *Pulpit Analyst*, and after running their course in that periodical are collected into this handy volume. They are given in the shape of letters addressed to a young man whose attention has been directed to the Christian ministry, and who is just entering upon his preparatory studies. The young man is supposed to be acting under the counsel of a Mr. Washington—his own minister probably—and both minister and candidate are supposed to be united in asking from the author "an answer to many serious inquiries." The answers are given in this series of letters, and form one of the best, smartest, and most entertaining volumes of its class it has been our privilege to read. We heartily wish it had been published a sufficient number of years ago to have fallen into our hands before the commencement of our own ministry; but as it was not, we will not be so malevolent, nor jealous of the superior privileges of present aspirants to the pulpit and pastorate, as not to recommend them to read it; but on the contrary, would say most urgently—If you have not read the "Advices" as they appeared in the *Analyst*, by all means get the present volume and read them at once. The letters composing the book are twenty in number, and are on various topics, but all more or less bearing upon ministers and their work. The tone of the whole is excellent. The author has a lofty conception of the grandeur and importance of the ministerial office; but while he magnifies it, he never fails to demand along with gifts and culture of the highest kind, both a distinct recognition of a call from God to the work of preaching the Gospel, and the supremest love to Christ, as indispensable to the right and successful discharge of ministerial

work. Dr. Parker's own words on the subject, in the commencement of the first letter, are well worth quoting, as they indicate the spirit in which he proposes to address his ministerial friend, while at the same time they give the key-note to the general character of his book :—

"In accepting the responsibility of answering the inquiries contained in your interesting letter, you must understand that throughout my correspondence I shall assume that you feel yourself called of God to the work of preaching the Gospel, and that you are daily striving to live in the spirit of Jesus Christ. I wish to be very clear upon this point; for though I may take occasion to express myself somewhat playfully on many questions which arise, yet I deeply feel that without a spirit of reverent and contrite humiliation before God, and a constancy of loving and trustful desire towards the Saviour, no man is fit to have a part or lot in the Christian ministry; when, therefore, I avail myself of satire or raillery, it will relate to the weakness or eccentricity of human usages, and never to the vital and solemn relations of the divine vocation."

The first letter is on "Discipline," and affords a specimen of the author's gift of satire and raillery. He has great facility of language, together with an abundant vein of humour, and he does not spare his shafts against the kind of discipline which he calls *pedantic.* Not that true discipline, however, which is necessary to qualify a minister for his proper work; for this he earnestly demands; but that kind of discipline which makes men fastidious, and renders them morally powerless because they must be technically exact. His young friend complains that when he went before the college committee with the simple desire to become a preacher of the Gospel, one of the gentlemen horrified him by asking him to decline "Hircus, a he-goat," on the spot, which, having done to the best of his ability, another gentleman asked him to show "that if two triangles have their homologous sides proportional they are equi-angular and similar." The candidate is disgusted, and wants to know "what such pagan inquiries have to do with preaching the Gospel;" when with much genial pleasantry he is told that "the Latin noun and the geometrical theorem may, after all, have some good influence upon his preparation for the ministry." Technical studies are for discipline.

"You will probably forget that in an isosceles triangle the angles opposite to the equal sides are equal to one another, yet the discipline of demonstrating it will enable you to humiliate any rash heretic who may hereafter seek to poison your church members with the deadly doctrine of necessitarianism; and the discipline which is imposed by proving that some x's are some y's, and that other x's are all y's, will enable you to pulverise any hot-headed deacon who may hereafter attempt to prove that you had better be looking out for another pastorate."

A book like this can only be represented by quotation; and where there is so much we would like to quote, and on so many subjects,

we naturally feel embarrassed in selection. But there are two excellent letters on "Earnestness" and "Naturalness" we must not overlook. Dr. Parker says, "There are men who unhappily imagine that it is necessary to be fussy in order to be earnest, and who wear a label on which is written in coloured letters, 'This is an earnest man!' When a man is really earnest he needs no label; he is a living epistle; his whole life is his commendation." All this is very true when thoughtful, discerning men are the observers. Unhappily, however, ministerial life is cast among many who do not observe very deeply or intelligently, and where that is the case, the fussy, bustling brother has decidedly the best of it. The author enlivens his page in a very amusing manner by describing three methods of earnestness—the "Dental," the "Porous," and the "Cordial." The last is the right method; the other two are the fictitious methods, yet by far, as he thinks, the most popular. The Rev. Mr. Osted is an example of the "Dental" method. No word from this excellent man ever came from beyond his teeth; and all the words he ever spoke never cost him anything. "He could have preached four times not only on a Sunday, but on every day of the week, and could have visited all sorts of people between the services, without so much, as drivers say, having one turned hair." "He was *very* earnest, was Mr. Osted—*very*;" "most unremitting in his attendance upon the sick;" "never tired;" "always had a word in season;" "never off his legs." So said Mr. Osted's admirers. There is rhetorical exaggeration, of course, in all this, yet the typical man reveals the reality.

Mr. Bodens, a brother of ample proportions, illustrates the "Porous" method. "The manner in which this *earnest* gentleman exerts himself in the pulpit is little short of alarming." His repute for earnestness consequently stands very high. "*He never spares himself; he is extremely energetic; deeply devoted.*" Yet Mr. Bodens does little else than gad about among his "hospitable people (he calls it visiting), keeping a memorandum of the number and character of his visits—mainly gustatory and potatory—and thinking it enough to write out a *skeleton* on Saturday night (easily done, he says,) which on Sunday he will perspire over as usual in the vain attempt to make the poor ghosts of sermons look as plump and well conditioned metaphorically as the good man himself does physically." Exaggeration here, too, again; but enough of truth in the picture to secure the identification of the original.

In another chapter the author advises the young preacher to "*be natural,*" and to be "*as unlike a book as possible;*" this last having

reference to his compositions as delivered from the pulpit. He is very severe upon imitators of great preachers, and satirises this class of offenders in the person of a hypothetical Mr. Dexter, a small man, both mentally and physically, who has taken to aping Mr. Binney, who is tall both in body and mind. But we cannot reproduce the book.

We hardly know what to make of Dr. Parker's free handling of some living men and of some recently dead. There is a eulogistic letter on David Thomas, in which he counsels the young preacher to secure the whole series of the *Homilist*, and says he thinks the time has come for the union of the elder work with the younger *Analyst*. (The *Analyst*, by the way, has passed from the editorship of Dr. Parker to that of E. Paxton Hood, under the absurd title of the *Preacher's Lantern*.) There is another chapter on Dr. Campbell, in which the author speaks of the sturdy old Congregational champion with affection and discrimination; but in which he thinks it pretty certain that, "the Congregational body will happily never have a second Dr. Campbell." But in one or two other of the letters there is a freedom exercised in criticising great names which it is certainly difficult to reconcile with good taste. Our space, however, is exhausted, and we must, with regret, withhold any more quotations from this interesting volume.

Tracts and Pamphlets, published by the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State patronage and control. London: 2, Sergeants' Inn, Fleet Street. 1870.

We welcome the appearance of these timely publications. They are brief—some of them may be read in a few minutes—but they contain weighty facts and arguments. We have not space for any exposition or quotation, but our readers will know what to expect from the titles the tracts bear, viz., "The Established Church of England: how does it work?" "The Church and the people;" "Plain truths about the bishops;" "Why I am a member of the Liberation Society;" "Results of Disestablishment, or the Church of England 'degraded to the level of the sects,'" by C. H. Spurgeon; "Some reasons for being a Dissenter;" and "It isn't respectable." The Liberation Society has done a great work already; it has succeeded in all it has hitherto undertaken; and now that in the present Parliamentary session it assails the English Establishment itself, it behoves all the friends of religious liberty and equality to support the Society to the uttermost of their power. One effectual means of

doing this will be the circulation throughout the land of such pamphlets as those we now notice. The fall of the Establishment may not be yet, but it is certain to come in a few years.

Memorials of the Rev. William Bull, of Newport Pagnel. Compiled chiefly from his own letters and those of his friends, Newton, Cowper, and Thornton. 1738—1814. By his Grandson, the Rev. Josiah Bull, M.A. Cheap Edition. London: Stock.

The circumstances under which this volume was prepared are remarkable. The 11th of October, 1864, completed a century since the Rev. W. Bull was ordained pastor of the Independent Church, at Newport Pagnel, and during that long period that church had been presided over by the grandfather, the son, and the grandson in unbroken succession. It was to celebrate that day, and to recognise the divine goodness in an event so rare in the history of any religious community that this volume was prepared and published. The book has an interest not only because it is a portraiture of Mr. Bull's character, life, and ministry, but also because of the information it gives us of many of his contemporaries and associates, and of the general religious history of the times in which he lived, times pregnant with events and movements of the greatest importance. We need scarcely say it is a very enjoyable book, for its title page will indicate as much to most readers. Of John Newton, William Cowper, and Henry Thornton one never wearies of hearing, especially if there is any fresh information to be given of them. One particular charm of the volume arises from the glimpses it gives us of the religious world in this country before the rise and spread of Methodism and Evangelicalism. What a contrast to the religious world of our day! Then a quiet calm reigned, attended with a gentle glow of fervour; now what a bustle, and activity, and excitement! Is ours the most beautiful phase of Christian life? Are we doing the will of our Master more acceptably, or more effectively, than our predecessors, with their slow-going pace, and staid demeanour? We sometimes hesitate to say, yes; and yet how disheartening to say, no.

Fidgety Folk. A Lecture delivered at Southport, January 4th, 1871, by Thomas Bullock, LL.D. Manchester: John Heywood. Price One Penny.

This is a smart lecture, full of effective satire, and we recommend

its purchase by all who are—and who is not?—characterised by "fidgetiness," in one form or other. Dr. Bullock distinguishes the species as follows:—Fidgety-ill natured folk; fidgety-principled-folk; fidgety-trading-folk; fidgety-jealous-folk; fidgety-church-worrying-folk; fidgety-dyspeptic-folk; and fidgety-hand-shaking-folk. We should have been better pleased if the author had more warmly denounced some of the foregoing than he has done; for while they may be, what Webster says the word "fidgety" itself is, "vulgar," not a few of them are malicious and despicable. When Dr. Bullock deals with the remainder of this unpleasant company, we hope he will castigate as well as describe them.

A History of Wesleyan Missions in all parts of the World, from their commencement to the present time. Illustrated by numerous Engravings. By the REV. WILLIAM MOISTER. With an Introduction by the REV. ELIJAH HOOLE, D.D. London: Stock. 1871.

THE compilation of this volume was a happy thought, and we think, as far as we have been able to examine it, the execution is worthy of the conception. It is a book which all should read, but especially should it be got into the hands of our young people. They will gather from it a large mass of interesting information respecting almost all parts of the world.

A Gallery of Distinguished Men. By the REV. E. BARRASS. Dedicated by permission to the Rev. W. M. Punshon, M.A.

THIS is a Canadian publication, but we believe may be had in this country of Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster Row. In the gallery are miniature portraits, among which are to be found those of Dr. Cooke, Newman Hall, S. Romilly Hall, Hugh Bourne, George Lamb, E. Paxton Hood, &c. We confess to have but little liking for this class of publications, unless marked by great analytical or descriptive ability, which we cannot say is the case in this instance.

Symbolism: An Address on the Use and Abuse of Symbols and Art in Worship. By HENRY CARPENTER, B.A. With an Appendix. London: Philip & Son, 32, Fleet Street. 1870.

AN able and spirited protest against ritualism. Those interested in the question—and who is not directly or indirectly?—may read it with advantage.

The Wesleyan Methodist Year Book for 1871. London: Stock. One Shilling.

IT is rather late to give a notice of this useful publication. By this time we should presume it is in the hands of most of our readers. We find it very valuable as a book of reference, and it contains an amount of information which cannot but be interesting to all catholic-minded Methodists of every denomination.

The Hive: A Storehouse of Material for Working Sunday School Teachers. Vol. II. Elliot Stock.

The Biblical Museum: A Collection of Notes, Explanatory, Homiletic, and Illustrative, forming a complete Commentary on the Holy Scriptures, especially designed for the use of Ministers, Bible Students, and Sunday School Teachers. By J. C. GRAY. Vol. I.; No. 1. Elliot Stock.

THE titles of the above works sufficiently bespeak their character, and indicate the purpose they are intended to serve. Mr. Gray has laid Sunday School Teachers under considerable obligations by the many valuable helps he has supplied for the intelligent and efficient discharge of their important duties. We hope they will appreciate his efforts to serve them, and by a proper use of these works, and of others he has issued, let their profiting appear to all.

The Lost Found, and the Wanderer Welcomed. By the REV. W. M. TAYLOR, M.A., United Presbyterian Church, Derby Road, Liverpool. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1870.

THESE are discourses delivered in the regular course of the author's ministry on the parables of the Lost Sheep, the Lost Coin, and the Prodigal Son. The book is well printed, on good paper, and neatly and strongly bound, so that with its excellent contents it is a very appropriate book to present to young people, and especially to young men.

The Story of our Founder: being a Life of John Wesley written for Children. With an introduction by the REV. THOMAS VASEY. London: Stock. 1871.

THE idea of this little book is much to our liking. In some instances we think the sentences might have been advantageously abbreviated, and the words selected more simple, and then the idea and composition would have been equally commendable. As it is we hope the sale will be such as to soon call for a second edition, when the author may revise it in reference to the matters we name.

A Letter to Churchmen and to Dissenters, from R. G. Peter, M.A., Rector of Cavendish, London. London: Bell and Dalby. 1870.

THE desire and object of Mr. Peter are to extinguish Dissent, not by persecution on the part of the Established Church, but by *comprehension.* He deserves a respectful hearing.

How to Succeed in Business. By JOHN MAYNARD. London: F. W. Bourne. 1870. Price 4d.

IF all acted on the homely advice given in this pamphlet, there would be less dash and glitter in the world, but there would be a greater amount of substantial happiness.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY,

JUNE, 1871.

ART. I.—THE RESURRECTION OF THE DEAD.

The Resurrection of the Dead: Its Design, Manner, and Results. An Exposition of the fifteenth chapter of first Corinthians. By the Rev. JAMES COCHRANE, A.M. William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London. 1869.

The Resurrection. Twelve Expository Essays on the fifteenth chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians. By SAMUEL COX. Strahan and Co., London. 1869.

The Gospel of the Resurrection: Thoughts on its Relation to Reason and History. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, B.D. Macmillan and Co., London and Cambridge, 1867. Second Edition.

Expository Lectures on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians (fifteenth chapter of first Epistle). By the late Rev. F. W. ROBERTSON, of Brighton. Smith, Elder, and Co., London. 1870.

THE books enumerated above are an evidence of the revived interest in the doctrine of the Resurrection of the Dead which is characteristic of theological thought in the present day. Associated with this revival an increasing interest has been manifested in one of the greatest of historical questions, viz., the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. The unbelief of the times has doubtless spurred to greater activity the thought of the religious public, and directed it to the "first principles" of our faith, for the great historical questions involved in Christianity have been most fiercely assailed of late; but the steady, persistent advocacy of Christianity by learned and good men has, in conjunction with the earnest labours of Christians generally, contributed not a little towards the gratifying activity of the

religious thought of the times. So far as theology is concerned, this is a transitional age. Reason is in apparent conflict with faith. To disabuse the mind of this imagined antagonism, just and searching investigation into the evidence generally, but especially the historical evidence, of Christianity is necessary. Reason must be satisfied that faith is reasonable. We gladly go back with our opponents to the age of our Lord, confident that we shall return from a re-examination of its principal events convinced that the historic foundations of Christianity are immovable.

The Rev. J. Cochrane's work comprises twenty sermons, with an appendix giving (1), a new translation and paraphrase of the entire chapter (1 Cor. 15); and (2), a brief commentary and critical notes. The author deals boldly and confidently, if not always satisfactorily, with the critical difficulties of the chapter. His theory of the world to come, —which is, that the heaven of the future is to be a regenerated earth,—affects his views of the Resurrection very materially. It is with him a kind of universal principle, which accounts for everything,—a critical key which unlocks every difficulty. The discourses belong to that class which are fitted neither for reading nor speaking, not being sufficiently terse for the former, nor sufficiently familiar for the latter. Their chief characteristic is, not a decided and thorough yet reverent grasp of the chief questions involved, and calm yet earnest consideration of the chief objections raised against the doctrine, but merely an enlarged affirmation, or a series of affirmations, of the views generally entertained by Calvinistic theologians. Yet new thought mingles with the old: there is refreshing liberality here and disappointing narrowness there. The author simply affirms,—teaches dogmatically. His reasoning is dogmatic. He does not profess to show the modes of operations. The character of his work precludes this to a certain extent, for discourses must be composed with a view to impression and effect. At the same time many of his expositions are philosophical in character, and philosophical terms are freely used throughout the work. To a Scottish audience, however, this feature might be an element of power.

The Rev. Mr. Cox's work affords in many respects a very pleasing contrast to that of Mr. Cochrane. It consists of twelve essays, with an appendix containing (1), a translation of 1 Cor. 15; and (2), a full account of the church of Corinth, which account throws much light on the Apostle's reasoning on the Resurrection. Though the author calls them essays, they bear evidence of having been spoken to an

audience. The difficulties of the chapter are handled skilfully and thoroughly. There is a great charm in Mr. Cox's pages,—the charm of simplicity and thoughtfulness. He speculates, as all thinkers must speculate to some extent—and Mr. Cox *is* a thinker; but his speculation is safe. He always subordinates it to reason, and tests it by a clear and comprehensive induction. He has a thorough acquaintance with the intricacies of the subject itself, a competent knowledge of all collateral questions, and is always in harmony with an unprejudiced interpretation of the Scriptures. His qualifications as a critic and a scholar are manifest on a cursory perusal of the work, and the masterly conduct of his arguments, and the freshness and originality of his thought frequently called forth our admiration during its perusal. His style is in itself a great attraction, combining imaginative fervour and beauty with logical exactness and rhetorical finish. The essays are expository and practical, the author's aim being to confirm the faith of Christians and to comfort the sorrowful and bereaved. It is also his aim to place the reader, so far as the chapter in question is concerned, "as nearly as possible on the ground of vantage occupied by modern scholars and critics." (Preface.) Mr. Cox acknowledges in his preface that it was not his intention to touch upon the philosophical questions involved in the doctrine of the Resurrection, "that argument having been developed, and, as it seems to me, in a masterly way, by Mr. Westcott in his 'Gospel of the Resurrection.'"

Of Mr. Westcott's work we need say but little. It has for some time been before the public, and has deservedly obtained an extensive popularity. It is truly a masterly production, placing before us the ripest results of the criticism and scholarship of the day, of extensive research, and of much original and valuable thought, in a style calmly judicial and frequently eloquent. The author's object is to show that in the resurrection of our Lord "we may contemplate Christianity in relation to history, to man, and to the future, not as a vague idea, or as a set of dogmas, or even as a system, but as a witness to actual events, in the substantial reality of which lies all its power and all its hope"—(p. 3). In the introduction, preliminary questions,—as to the conceptions we form of nature and of miracles, and as to the ideas we form of an infinite God, and of the constancy of natural laws,—are disposed of very satisfactorily. The first chapter considers the Resurrection in relation to history. History leads up to and involves the Resurrection, while life and thought generally since that event are but developments of it. In the second chapter the

Resurrection is considered in relation to man, and it is shown that in man there are difficulties, conflicts between reason and faith, which the fact of Christ's Resurrection only can remove. We shall have occasion to notice this chapter more fully subsequently. In chapter the third, the author considers the Resurrection in relation to the Church, and shows how in it the fact of Resurrection is perpetuated and the idea of it realized. Some of the profoundest questions of theology and philosophy come under review. In every case they are fearlessly grappled with, and exhaustively though briefly handled. The work—it is not a large one—ought to be studied by every minister in the kingdom.

The Expository Lectures of the late Rev. F. W. Robertson are doubtless well known to our readers. We need not call special attention to them, except to say that the few lectures expository of the fifteenth of first Corinthians are necessarily fragmentary yet fruitfully suggestive.

The Resurrection of our Lord is the historic foundation of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. That event is, as Mr. Westcott clearly shows, the best attested historical fact in the world. If the testimony on which we rely for the proof of it is false, then, not the alleged fact of such resurrection only, but the whole system of Christianity in its moral and spiritual relations, falls to the ground. But the historical evidence supporting our faith in Christ's resurrection is simply overpowering. There is not only the indirect evidence contained in all history, in that all history takes the fact for granted and works up to it, and afterwards in all its evolutions and developments presupposes it as an actual fact properly attested, but there is also the direct evidence of eye-witnesses who could neither have expected nor anteriorily conceived it, and who therefore could not have spoken of it unless they had either seen it themselves or conversed with those who had. They *could not* be mistaken, and certainly *were not* false witnesses of the resurrection. Besides, the event itself had its permanent effects on the Apostles and their teachings, and Christian doctrine invariably presupposes belief in it. Falsehood and delusion have it not in them to impress the world so deeply as the alleged fact of Christ's resurrection has impressed it, and for so long a time. *They* cannot be at the root of the noblest development of goodness the world has ever seen. If the evidence of Christ's resurrection is not sufficient to establish it as a fact of history, all history is simply valueless, and all historians are simply rogues.

The Apostles chiefly dwelt upon the Resurrection, not

only because it was denied by the Sadducees, but also on account of the significance of the doctrine itself. In Christ's resurrection they saw the fulfilment of prophecy. That event gave to His life-work a unity and completeness at once grand and captivating. It made plain to them the conflicting teachings of His prior life, helped them to believe His promises of future glory, afforded an unquestionable ground for the authority He always assumed and calmly claimed, gathered together the scattered parts of His system, and imparted a prophetic significance to certain words which once fell from His lips in answer to the memorable confession of Peter, viz., "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." (Matt. xvi. 18.) But this fulness of view doubtless gradually dawned upon the Apostles' minds. They waited the descent of the promised Comforter, who, said Jesus, would lead them into all truth. When He descended in power they seem for the first time to to have conceived aright the true meaning of Messiaship. The Holy Ghost made plain to them the atoning character of Christ's work; His death was seen to be a sacrifice for sin; His resurrection was seen to be the necessary complement of such a divine sacrifice: and from this true idea of Messiaship, in conjunction with Christ's resurrection from the dead, came the further truth, that of their own resurrection from the dead. The hints of a resurrection in the Old Testament at once became prophetic intimations of a glorious future for body and soul,—intimations which expanded into full revelations under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. To their minds the resurrection of Jesus Christ plainly proved (1), the possibility of a resurrection of the dead; and (2), the certainty of their own resurrection from the dead. They had, in the fact of Christ's resurrection, the most powerful argument with which to refute the Sadducees, and in an inference drawn from that fact—that of their own resurrection—the strongest encouragement to labour and suffer in the cause of their Master. (1 Cor. xv. 20.)

In the Corinthian church the belief obtained—a belief rooted in the prevalent philosophies—that the body, inasmuch as it was material, was therefore evil, and only evil. Consequently the highest holiness was possible to men only when freed from the corrupting influence of a body. From this belief sprang mysticism, asceticism, and monasticism. The body was tortured and maimed in life, and consigned to an eternal grave at death. If Christians had risen from sin to holiness, the resurrection was past. (2 Tim. ii., 17, 18.) In opposition to

questions: What is the nature of man, or is the body an essential part of man? and, What is the relation between the Atonement of Christ and the resurrection of the dead? We shall have occasion shortly to notice fully the former question. Suffice it now to say that the Apostles and teachers of Christianity in the early centuries always opposed the ancient philosophers and the religionists who believed that the body was the prison of the soul, its evil companion, because material. Christianity never sanctioned their theories and practices. In all its teachings it honours the body with special attention. The lustful motions of the flesh, which take their rise in the soul itself, it seeks to subdue by subjecting them to the higher motions of the spiritual life, which take their rise in the Spirit of God. The reason why Christianity in its whole spirit and scope disallows the depreciation of the body, and by inference declares it to be an essential part of man, may perhaps be found in an answer to the latter question, viz., What is the relation between the Atonement of Christ and the resurrection of the dead? Did Christ die for the soul only, and not for the body also? Is the body, when it returns to dust, fulfilling its natural destiny? Has sin smitten the soul and passed by the body? If not, can there be redemption without the purification and ennobling of the body? It seems to us that it is the teaching of the Apostles that it was God's design to redeem *man*; not the soul only, as is commonly expressed, and we fear also commonly understood, but soul and spirit and body,—all that enters into and forms a part of man. Hence the Scriptures speak of the redemption of our body.* If man is to be redeemed, the body, as it is an essential part of his nature, and has suffered the consequences of transgression, must be restored with the soul. But how can this be, if the dead rise not? Evidently the resurrection of the dead is one of the natural results of redemption. The resurrection of Christ cannot be understood apart from His incarnation. Unless Christ is divine, His resurrection has no significance for us. Apart from His incarnation, His resurrection becomes a mere isolated event in his history—a strange fact, but that is all.

"Once introduce the belief in Christ's divine nature, and His death and resurrection are no longer of the individual but of the race. . . . If Christ took our nature upon Him (as we believe) by an act of love, it was not that of one but of all. He was not one man only among men, but in Him all humanity was gathered

* See Rom. viii. 23; Eph. v. 23; 1 Cor. vi. 20.

up. And thus now, as at all time mankind are (so to speak) organically united with Him. His acts are in a true sense our acts, so far as we realize the union; His death is our death; His resurrection our resurrection." *

In the teaching of the Apostles the dignity and future glory of the body occupy no inferior place,† but are plainly to be inferred from the resurrection of Christ Himself. These positions are very clearly established in the third chapter of Mr. Westcott's work. We may therefore conclude that the resurrection of the dead is one of the resultant blessings of Christ's Atonement, and from this we may infer the further truth, that the body is an essential part of man.

It will be as well, however, to examine the argument by which the Apostle connects the resurrection of the dead with the Atonement of Christ. It is contained in the words, "For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." (1 Cor. xv. 21, 22.) Here we have one of the acknowledged difficulties of this celebrated and wondrous chapter, a knotty piece of reasoning in the Apostle's argument. Mr. Cochrane regards the words as proving the federal relationship and covenant headship theories.‡ Mr. Cox confesses that "to find an interpretation which shall at once square with the plain facts of human life and retain the plain meaning of St. Paul's words, is a task so difficult that, so far as my reading extends, the Commentators have utterly failed to achieve it."‖ These, he says, "have limited the scope of Christ's redemption, which the Apostle declares to be universal, to those who believe in Him." Mr. Cox boldly tries to meet the difficulty by hazarding an interpretation, the substance of which is, that in all men there is some goodness, which they derive from Christ, the creative Word. The evil tendencies of our nature are derived from Adam; the good from Christ. But Christ, as well as being the creative Word, is also the Redeemer, and the question arises, How can we be benefited by His redemption? How are we the better, as a race, for His obedience? Well, even as we are affected by what Adam did because he was our father, and, in a subordinate sense, our maker, so are we affected by what Christ did because we all descend from Him; and affected by so much the more as Christ is greater than Adam. We are the better for Christ's work, though we never knew His name: better in that we are

* Westcott's "Gospel of the Resurrection," pp. 173, 174.
† See 2 Cor. v. 4; Phil. iii. 21; 2 Cor iii. 18; 1 John iii. 2.
‡ Discourse vii. p. 137. ‖ The Resurrection, pp. 65, 66.

not all evil, in that there is still some good thing in us, the evil being *the Adam* in us, the good being *the Christ* in us. The benefit is, that *we have* the Christ in us, and the Christ in us makes us alive. This is true of all men. It is true in a higher sense of those who, in the conflict of good and evil within them, yield to the good,—to the Christ in them: then they live for ever.

Mr. Cox claims for this interpretation the merit of its being in harmony with the plain, obvious meaning of the Apostle's words. It has many merits; but it seems to us that while it is in harmony with St. Paul's words, it is rather brought to them than springs out of them. The impression left upon the mind after reading it, is, that a very good case has been made out, but that after all it is a case—a plausible and ingenious account. We may not be able to refute it; indeed we do not wish to do so; but we hardly think that the Apostle, in the verses in question, intended to teach all that Mr. Cox has taught. Undoubtedly *some* benefits accrue to mankind through the atonement of Christ. But it should be remembered (and this Mr. Cox seems to have forgotten) that the Apostle, in the chapter in question, is arguing for the resurrection of the dead, and consequently, if he is a true reasoner, all his minor arguments and subordinate positions—his side-glances into the mysteries of divine truth—will all bear with their own degree of force upon the general subject, and assist his specific purpose. While it may be true that the good that is in men and the generally susceptible conscience of mankind are benefits accruing to us, as a race, from Christ's work, we are inclined to think that the Apostle has in view the specific blessing of the resurrection of the dead, and that only. "In Adam all die:" death is the heritage of the race in consequence of Adam's sin. But "in Christ shall all be made alive:" the whole race, though subject to death, shall be raised from the dead in consequence of the atonement made by Christ. If the verses in question are regarded, not so much as containing a dogmatic statement in themselves, as forming part of a grand argument for the resurrection of the dead, the meaning is simple and forcible, and we can see how it bears with accumulative force upon his main argument; for they teach us that the resurrection of the dead is the universal blessing resulting from the atonement of Christ, even as death is the universal curse resulting from the transgression of Adam. If there is anything faulty in Mr. Cox's interpretation, it is the omission of this consideration. He interprets the "making alive" as a subjective work only, and not also as an

objective one: he considers it as a life in the soul, and not as an act by which life shall be given to the whole person and to all persons at the resurrection. Accepting this view the resurrection of the dead is directly connected with the Atonement of Christ. A truth so important and so glorious may claim, not a secondary, but the primary consideration in Apostolic theology. If an atoning character is granted to the work of Christ, the resurrection of the dead must likewise be granted. The one is involved in the other, and stands or falls with it.

Advancing a step further in the Apostle's argument, we are met by the questions, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come? We are sorry to say that it has been the custom with some theologians to pooh-pooh the theoretical difficulties involved in these questions. Mr. Cochrane exhibits a tendency in this direction. The difficulties, however, are not to be pooh-poohed away. The Apostle meets them boldly. The former question, we consider, relates to the possibility of the resurrection of the dead. Every particle of every body is scattered. Man literally returns to dust. If the body rots, and is blown away by the winds, washed by the rains into the rivers and seas, or forms part of the fruitful earth to reappear in the flowers we admire and in the perfume we inhale, in the bread we eat, and in the raiment we wear, how is it possible for the body to be raised from the dead? The Apostle answers in the words, and in these only: "Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die: and that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat or of some other grain: but God giveth it a body as it hath pleased Him, and to every seed his own body." (1 Cor. xv. 36-38.) The answer is in its nature analogical, and proves nothing: it only shows that the resurrection of the dead may be possible and credible. We are taught by it, to quote Mr. Cox, who, on the whole, is very clear and beautiul in his exposition at this stage of the subject—(pp. 156, 157),

"That *dissolution does not inevitably imply destruction*, . . . and therefore, *it may be* that the dissolution of the body is not the destruction of the body; . . . and how, *when form is changed, identity may be preserved*, . . . and therefore, though our new form may differ from the old, *it may be* that we shall remain the same."

The Apostle's argument may be thus stated:—How is it possible for the dead to be raised, seeing that all bodies are decomposed and their dust is scattered over the earth; how *can* the dead be raised up?

You who ask this question are wanting in thoughtfulness, for you should first ask, how it is possible for a plant to rise out of a seed? Do you not know that seed must die before it is quickened? and that the grain which you sow is not the plant which afterwards appears? From the decomposed grain God raises a body of life as it pleases Him, giving to every seed a body of its own. If, therefore, God can do this with seed—an achievement which, did we not know it, we should call impossible in the nature of things—is He not able, though our flesh decompose, to give us a body of life as it pleases Him, —to every man his own body?

This argument is satisfactory: it prevents us disbelieving in the resurrection of the dead because we think it impossible in the nature of things. It is of importance to notice that St. Paul institutes in his reply no parallel between *the process* of the germination of the seed and *the process* of the resurrection of the dead. He simply says, in effect, Here is a natural phenomenon known to you all—the seed decomposes (and in so far dies) that the plant may live. Were you ignorant of this fact, you might call in question the possibility of its existence. Knowing such a fact, may it not likewise be possible for a body of life to arise in the future, though the present body be decomposed? The objector cannot say, No: he is bound to say, *it may be so.* The Apostle's appeal is to the *fact* of the process, not to the *process* of the fact. He does not unfold an analogy for our instruction; he only uses an analogical instance to disarm objectors. If this had been remembered we should never have heard, as we have often heard in sermons, &c., on this subject, of some hidden life-germ, which possesses the mysterious power of retaining its life, and from which the future body is to arise. Dr. Watts's "original, essential, and constituent tubes, fibres, or staminal particles," and Samuel Drew's "invisible, indestructible particles," which are to be "the germ of our future bodies," are conceits which have doubtless originated in an erroneous conception of St. Paul's argumentation in the verses in question. We are astonished that Dr. A. Clarke should have given his sanction to them. We began to think that they were utterly exploded; but the shadow of the same ogre falls upon the pages of Mr. Cochrane, in Discourses xi. and xii., where, after noticing the fact of the dispersion of the dust of the body in various ways, he says, "Be it so; but what of all that, if, notwithstanding, part also is taken to be the germ, the nucleus, the main or essential constituents of another, a more perfect, a more glorious body, destined yet to be the temple and eternal abode of the glorified Spirit?"—(p. 226).

Such a theory treats the Apostle's analogous illustration as an analogy having significance in every imaginable point of view. It presupposes that the body dies in the sense in which the seed dies, and it takes for granted that in the seed there are some particles which remain unaltered through all the decomposing process. It will be admitted that the seed does *not die* as the body dies; for, if it did, there would be no resurrection of *it*. If it is a fact that the seed does not die as the body dies, it must also be a fact that the body does not die as the seed dies; and the consequence is, that the germination of the seed affords no analogy for the resurrection of the body, and the "germ theory" finds no support from the Apostle's argument. But whatever may be our views as to any supposed analogy between the seed and the body, the Apostle's reasoning remains sound. There is decomposition in both cases, and in so far death. In the one case decomposition precedes and is necessary to a higher form of vegetable existence. May not the same law apply in the other case? In the case of the seed, the decomposition and the revival are brought together,—indeed, the decomposition may be considered the commencement of the quickening process; no long interval separates the two events as in the case of the body; but may not the quickening process follow notwithstanding in the case of the body? To assert that a parallel exists between the death of the seed and the death of the body, or to reason as though a parallel was intended by the Apostle, is to substitute an analogy for the Apostle's illustration. Such reasoning is as erroneous as to say, that because Jesus said He would come as a thief in the night, therefore He *will* be a thief, and *will* come in the night, forgetting that Jesus, instead of instituting an analogy between His coming and a midnight marauder, simply intended to illustrate the suddenness and unexpectedness of His coming. To institute analogies between the seed and the body, and between the modes of their respective processes of decomposition and quickening, can only lead to endless and profitless refinements. Certainly the Apostle had no such *analogies* in his mind when he penned the words in question. A fact in the vegetable world is alluded to—decomposition preceding and necessary to a higher form of vegetable life—in order to show that a similar fact may obtain in the animal world, viz., that the decomposition of the body may but precede and be necessary to a higher form of human life. The Apostle's analogous illustration does not seem to be at all intended to illustrate the *mode*, the *process*, of that transition or change. To treat it as meaning so much is really to disconnect it from

his argument, and intellectually dissect it under an analogical microscope until instead of reasoning we get satire.

We confess ourselves somewhat dissatisfied with the exposition, by both Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Cox, of St. Paul's answer to the latter question—With what bodies do they come?—contained, as we think, in the verses from the 39th to the 45th inclusive. Mr. Cochrane thinks that the Apostle is simply illustrating the great principle of *unity in combination with variety.* "Whether the animated beings be men, cattle, fishes, or birds, there is at once a wonderful amount of similarity and dissimilarity about them." As there is this variety in nature,

> "Surely, then, we may easily understand that, without violating present arrangements, man may be clothed again in flesh at the resurrection day—and in flesh both similar and dissimilar to what he possesses in his present state; similar, inasmuch as it will have the same structure as before, and substantially subserve the same purposes of life and physical occupation, and yet dissimilar, inasmuch as in every respect it will be wondrously and gloriously improved." (Dis. xii., p. 229.)

In other words, the resurrection of the dead will simply be a further and higher illustration of the principle of unity in combination with variety, of which the various kinds of flesh, and various degrees of glory are lower illustrations. In this exposition the force and beauty of the Apostle's reasoning are not brought out. His illustrations seem useless; indeed, they are very poor illustrations of the principle they are supposed to illustrate, for certainly there are more significant illustrations in nature of the principle of unity in combination with variety than are presented to us in flesh, in heavenly and earthly bodies, and in the glory of the sun, moon, and stars.

Mr. Cox regards the verses as containing further illustrations of the principle (see ante p. 101) he deduced from the former analogous illustration of the seed,—viz., identity of substance under variety of form,—and ranges them in three divisions: 1. Earthly bodies differ from each other (v. 39); 2. Heavenly bodies differ from earthly (v. 40); 3. Heavenly bodies differ from each other (v. 41.) And his argument is, that various as are these respective bodies, in substance they are respectively identical; and therefore the resurrection of the dead may be possible through the operation of the same law. In our view the only fault of Mr. Cox's exposition is one of form. He ranges all the analogous illustrations under the first question, How are the dead raised up? leaving the second question, With what body do they come? formally unanswered by the Apostle. But the two questions are not to be confounded, the

one referring to the possibility of resurrection, answered in verses 36-38, and the other referring to the constitution of the resurrection bodies, answered in verses 39-45. The latter question the Apostle answers by appealing to the various kinds of flesh, to the variety of heavenly and earthly bodies, and to the various glory of the sun, and moon, and stars, evidently teaching that our resurrection bodies themselves as related to each other, and not only as related to the previous earthly bodies, as Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Cox would have it, will be as varied in substance as flesh, as varied in power as celestial and terrestrial bodies, and as varied in glory as the sun, moon, and stars. And why the variety? We conceive that, underlying the Apostle's words, there is a principle of *adaptation*, which is taken for granted throughout the answer to the question, and which we need to bring out, if we would understand the full significance of his illustrations.* The answer to the question, With what bodies do they come? is in few words,—In bodies adapted to the sphere they will be destined to occupy; hence their variety of substance, of power, and of glory. It is not a question of unity in combination with variety; but a question of variety in future existence, and of the adaptation of the resurrection body to the sphere each person will occupy. Mr. Cox falls upon this idea of adaptation in the progress of his exposition, as he could hardly fail to do; but he does not regard it as the ground of the Apostle's reasoning—the necessary though unexpressed condition of understanding his argument. He says (Essay vii., p. 161):

"The matter of the heavenly bodies, which is one with that of earthly bodies, and is subject to the same laws—chemical, mechanical, astronomical—is in each case adapted to its conditions, and varies as these vary. And therefore the presumption is strong that if death should greatly change our conditions, our physical organism will change with them, and be adapted to them. If death should lift us up to heaven, we may well believe that, as we were here adapted to an earthly lot, so there we shall be adapted for a heavenly lot; that as we have worn the glory of an earthly body, so also we shall wear the glory of a heavenly body."†

This reasoning is sound; but as well as applying it to the body of the hereafter, as contrasted with the body of the present, we believe that the Apostle likewise intended to teach us that

* The Revs. W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, in their "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," introduce between brackets this idea of adaptation n their translation of the chapter.

† See also Essay viii., p. 172.

the bodies of the future, as related to each other, will be as varied in their excellencies and glories as earthly and heavenly bodies are in the present world, while each body will be adapted to the life, to the new and special conditions of each spirit. In accordance with this view the Apostle's argument may be thus stated:

Supposing it possible for God to give to every man his own body, With what kind of bodies will they rise from the dead? Seeing that the body that dies is not the body that shall be, what will those bodies be? With what body will they come? (v. 35.)

Even as there are different kinds of flesh—flesh of men, beasts, fishes, and birds—and as the flesh of each is adapted to the sphere of each (v. 39); even as there are different bodies—celestial and terrestrial bodies—the perfection and excellency of which differ according to the conditions of their existence (v 40); even as there are different kinds of glory—that of the sun, that of the moon, and that of the stars, one star differing from another star in glory—the glory or splendour of each being just the kind and amount of glory or splendour best fitted for it (v. 41): so also will it be in the resurrection of the dead; the resurrection bodies will be adapted to the sphere they are intended to occupy, and each body will be adapted to its own sphere. Hence—

1. Though now the body dies to corrupt and decompose, the body given to us in the resurrection shall be without any tendency to corruption—shall no longer be subject to dissolution (v. 42).

2. Though now the body in dying is dishonoured, triumphed over by death, the body given to us in the resurrection shall be a body of glory,—of excellency, perfection, and immortality (v. 43).

3. Though now the body in dying shows its weakness, its subjection to disease and death, the body given to us in the resurrection shall be a body of power—no longer subject to disease, decay, old age, and death (v. 43).

4. Though now it dies a body having been fitted for the purposes of the natural world, the body given to us in the resurrection shall be fitted for the purposes of the spiritual world; for there must needs be a body fitted for the natural world, and there must needs be a body fitted for the spiritual world (v. 44): as it is written (Gen. ii. 7), the first man Adam was made a living soul, or a man fitted for the present world, but the last Adam, or man in his last estate, represented by

Christ,* a quickening spirit, or a man fitted for the future world (v. 45).

But there is a certain order to be observed: the body fitted for this world is first; the body fitted for the future world afterwards (v. 46); for the first man was made of the dust of the earth, and was therefore earthy—fitted for earth; but the second man† will be from heaven, and will therefore be heavenly—fitted for heaven (v. 47). For as is the earth, so must its inhabitants be—earthy, or fitted for earth; and as is the heavenly world, so must its inhabitants be—heavenly, or fitted for heaven (v. 48). Therefore, as we are now fitted for the present world, and bear the image of the earthy, so shall we be fitted for the future world, and shall bear the image of the heavenly (v. 49).

This implied principle of adaptation seems to us to throw wondrous light upon the Apostle's words. The low, sensual man has a dull, coarse, animal body; but the body of the intellectually and morally gifted man is fine, sensitive, and nervous: his whole nature throbs with a thousand impulses and impressions unknown to and unfelt by the merely animal man. In the body of the musical genius every nerve is finely strung and seems to run music. His soul sings and plays, and his body is moulded to the spirit's harmonies. The body of the saintly and holy man is, as it were, transfigured by the holiness of the spirit. The spirit's glory seems to shine through the fleshly garment. If the low, sensual man is to enjoy the exalting inspirations of intellectual life, or if his nature is to vibrate with the inflowings and outflowings of sweet melody, or if he is to reach a high degree of spiritual perfection, who does not see that the coarse body must be transformed till it can more readily respond to the diviner thoughts, the spiritual music, and the holier aspirations of the soul? And if we can see this to be necessary to passing from

* This verse is acknowledged to be about the most difficult in the chapter. Some commentators believe that the words, "the last Adam," refer to man in his last estate; others, including Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Cox, believe that they refer to Christ. May not both accounts be correct? Indeed, Mr. Cochrane hints in Dis. xv. that this is the case. If so, the following would be about the true meaning of the words: The first man Adam,—or man in his soulish state, represented by Adam, because the first-fruits of the soulish state,—was, or became a living soul; the last Adam,—or man in his spiritual state, represented by Jesus Christ, because the first-fruits of the spiritual state,—was, or became a quickening spirit.

† The words "the Lord," in the authorized version are not in the oldest MSS. and are left out in Tischendorf and Dean Alford's versions. We were surprised to find neither Mr. Cochrane nor Mr. Cox taking any notice of this fact.

one earthly state to another, how much more must some such transformation be necessary when we have to pass from an earthly to a heavenly state,—a heaven as far removed from earth as the summer world of the butterfly is removed from the dark earth-cell of the worm? In his exposition and illustration of this law or principle, Mr. Cox, in common with the late Rev. F. W. Robertson, of whom he is a warm and ardent disciple to judge from the extent to which he lays him under contribution, leaves nothing to be desired.

It is difficult to tell whether the supposed objectors in the Corinthian Church in asking, With what body do they come? were influenced by philosophical considerations, or by mere natural and legitimate curiosity. St. Paul satisfied the legitimate curiosity, but did not touch upon the philosophical difficulties of the question. Mr. Cox, as before stated, does not deal with them; but Mr. Westcott handles them in a masterly way. The general belief in the Christian Church has been that the same body laid in the grave will be raised at the resurrection. It follows, of course, that the very same particles of matter that formed part of the body during life must be used in the reproduction of the same body at the resurrection. It is supposed that there is some inherent virtue in the dust of the body qualifying it to fulfil that office. This is the belief, to a great extent, of the Christian Church still, notwithstanding that Locke, in his letters to the Bishop of Worcester, has cut up the view with his logic choppers till not a shred of reason for it remains. Dr. Gregory, in his "Letters on the Evidencies of the Christian Religion;" Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, in opposing Locke's views of Identity as related to the resurrection of the dead; Archbishop Tillotson in his sermons; Dr. A. Clarke, and others in sermons, poems, hymns, and essays, are advocates of the above view, and the chief authorities for it. Among them we are sorry to place Mr. Cochrane; for while many have written in favour of the view, not a few have expressed themselves dissatisfied with it; among them Dr. T. Burnet, in his work, *De Statu Mortuorum*, &c.; Dr. Watts, in his philosophical essays; Locke, in answer to the Bishop of Worcester; Mr. Westcott, in his "Gospel of the Resurrection," and others. As the latest representation of a view which still lives, but which we believe to be fast dying out, we may quote the following sentences from Mr. Cochrane:—

"Out of the vast store of material elements which enter into the composition of man's body during the present life or otherwise, God will construct a new body, which the glorified spirit will recognise

as substantially the same with that which it wore in its mortal condition." (Dis. xii., p. 232.)

What the writer means by the words "or otherwise" in the above sentence we cannot fathom. That he does not mean that any other material elements will do equally as well as those specified, is apparent from the immediately succeeding words:—

"The body which is buried, and goes to corruption and dust, is all the while instinct with some peculiar vitality which fits it for restoration. The body which is buried is the seed of the body which rises again, and is really 'quickened by dying.' In this there may be something occult, secret, mysterious, but not more so than many other things in nature."

More plainly still in Discourse iv.:—

"God has been for the last six thousand years, as it were, preparing the materials for the resurrection. In the birth, by ordinary generation, of innumerable human beings, in their life and death, and in the entombment, whether in earth, sea, or air, of the constituents of their bodies, He has been laying up an ample store of materials for this most astonishing of all the predicted operations of God."

These words are important as showing that it is still the belief amongst some learned and philosophical theologians that the dust of our present bodies possesses certain properties which qualify it, and it only, for use by God in the formation of our resurrection bodies. Though that dust is vapourised, absorbed by vegetable processes, scattered over the earth, and eaten in a thousand forms by beasts and men, it still remains distinctively *human* dust.

That such a view can be assailed by inexhaustible ridicule is saying but little against it. We have proved (p. 101) that it cannot justly be inferred from the Apostle's analogous illustration of the seed, and that illustration is the *only* foundation for it. Granting for a moment its truth, we are committed to infinite absurdities. If the same particles, and no other, which belonged to the body during life are to be used in the formation of the resurrection body, will those particles be taken from the body as it existed in youth, in manhood, in old age, or at death? Will the body that is raised be the emaciated body that was laid in the grave, or the vigorous body as it appeared in health? If we are to have any choice, who would not choose rather the body of their youth than the body of their old age? But if any of such particles are necessary why

not all? If all are used, we shall each have a huge body at the resurrection, for the matter of our bodies changes almost every seven years. If all are not used, on what principle will some be taken and some refused? Further, on this theory, those who die before birth, in infancy, and in youth, must be raised with their physical and intellectual powers undeveloped; unless, indeed, the superfluous dust of other bodies is appropriated for their benefit. But this supposes that the dust of different bodies is transferable, which can hardly be allowed, lest some souls get into wrong bodies. It would not do for Sir Isaac Newton's soul to be found in the body of a fool, nor *vice versa*. Indeed, to use Dr. Burnet's amusing but pertinent illustration, we may ask, seeing that the soul has during the course of a long life, six or seven different bodies, which shall it have at the resurrection?

The fact that a theory leads to such absurdities as these is a sufficient refutation of it,—its strongest condemnation. The ingenious devices by which learned and clever men have sought to evade them are almost as amusing as the absurdities themselves. Dr. Watts does not think that all the same particles are necessary, but resorts to the theory of certain constituent fibres or staminal particles, out of which the resurrection body is to be formed. In this he is seconded by Dr. A. Clarke and Mr. Cochrane. Archbishop Tillotson, again, gets over the difficulty by supposing that however numerous the particles which pass into and become part of other bodies may be, there will still be enough left—if only of bones and other solid, uneatable parts—out of which a resurrection body may be made. Many deep thinkers and thoughtful theologians in the present day, however, both in the ranks of Episcopacy and Dissent, are beginning to see that a theory such as the above is altogether untenable and must be discarded. Such eccentric reasoning and satiric theology is worthless in itself, and productive only of ridicule and unbelief. It has sanction neither in Scripture nor reason. It has come to us down the channels of tradition; and apart from that is not worthy of notice. We may therefore believe that the particles of matter of which our present bodies are composed are not necessary to the formation of the resurrection body. There is no peculiar virtue in human dust, rendering it more fit to be used than any other dust. The illustrative scriptural expressions, "coming out of the graves," "all that are in their graves," &c., are descriptive of the resurrection comprehensively, and are not intended to literally describe the *process* of individual resurrections. To interpret them literally is to violate

the obvious rules of criticism, and to apply a law of interpretation to the Bible we shrink from applying to any other book. We admit that Christ rose with the same particles of matter with which He died,—literally with the same body; but He saw not corruption. We shall corrupt, and we have yet to learn that our scattered dust possesses properties not common to the dust amongst which it mingles: "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." Christ's resurrection is the pledge, but not the pattern, of ours. He is the first-fruits of the resurrection harvest, the first-fruits signifying the *fact*, not the *mode*, of such resurrection. Besides, though Christ rose with the same particles with which He died, it does not therefore follow that those same particles were absolutely necessary to His resurrection.

It may be objected that to reproduce the body in the resurrection without using the previous body, would necessitate, not a resurrection, but a re-creation. This is a very plausible objection; but let us see what it involves. What is necessary is, not that the *same body*, but that the *same person*, should be reproduced. There is a very important distinction to be observed between the "same body" and the "same person." The one is an aggregation of certain particles of matter,—a mere organism; the other is the union of body and soul according to certain (unknown) laws,—laws which vary somewhat in the case of each person. If we assert that the same particles of matter which compose the present body are necessary to the reproduction of the same person at the resurrection, we at once make personal identity, or a person's consciousness that he is himself and not another person, to consist in the identity of particles of matter, which is absurd. If the *same person* exists at the resurrection, as before death, then such reproduction is not a re-creation, but a resurrection, although none of the identical particles of the matter in question should have been used. All that Revelation affirms, when carefully examined, is simply the *fact* that we, as persons, shall rise from the dead, or cease to exist or remain in a state of death. And as our consciousness tells us *now* that we are the same persons—though not the same bodies—we were ten, twenty, or thirty years ago, so (we infer) that same consciousness will tell us *then* that we are still the same persons, though not the same bodies.

But what is to take the place of the general view? Reason craves some solution of the difficulty. It was some consolation to believe that the omniscient eye of God observed every particle of dust, and that He would by an exercise of power

reunite them all again in the resurrection body. The view may be crude and unsatisfactory, but it is better than none at all. Reason asks, How can the same person, or the same man, be raised from the dead without the use of the same particles which composed his previous body? It is the great and peculiar value of Mr. Westcott's work that it gives an answer to this question. Locke discarded the old view, but he did not give another and a better to replace it. This, however, Mr. Westcott does. Many years ago, in thinking over this subject, we discarded the old view, and sought for and found a better one; but we could hardly express the joy we felt when first Mr. Westcott's small but valuable work fell into our hands, for in it we found the same solution of the difficulty clearly and beautifully though briefly stated. The question asked above—How can the same person be raised from the dead without the use of the same particles which composed the previous body?—is a crucial one, and brings us at once to the core of the subject. But before we can answer it, we must ask and attempt to answer two previous questions of great importance in philosophy, viz., What constitutes personal identity? and, what constitutes personality?

With reference to the former question the views of pilosophers are somewhat perplexing. Dugald Stewart* tells us that personal identity consists in a comparison of sensations and thoughts of which we are now conscious, with those of which we recollect to have been conscious formerly. Locke† tells us that consciousness constitutes personal identity. This, says Dugald Stewart, is inaccurate because, as Butler‡ shows, it follows that a person has not existed a single moment nor done one action but what he can remember; besides, consciousness presupposes, and cannot therefore constitute, personal identity. But Butler's objections to Locke apply with equal force to Dugald Stewart. If memory and consciousness in conjunction constitute personal identity, it still follows that "a person has not existed a single moment nor done one action but what he can remember." And memory, as well as consciousness, presupposes personal identity. Again, Butler's objections to Locke have weight only in so far as memory is understood to be implied in the consciousness which Locke declares constitutes personal identity (this Butler himself admits); and as Dugald Stewart's account is but the formal addition of what is informally conveyed

* Phil. Essays.
† Essay on Human Understanding, chap. xxvii.
‡ Dis. I. at close of Analogy.

in Locke's "consciousness," the same objections must apply to both philosophers. Either Butler's objections to Locke are groundless, or Dugald Stewart's account of what constitutes personal identity is unsatisfactory. We believe the latter alternative to be the correct one; for if memory and consciousness in conjunction constitute personal identity, it is difficult to avoid the inference that when, through defect of memory, we lose all consciousness of having existed at any time in the past, we can have no right to say or believe that we did then exist. Mr. Stewart makes our belief that we existed in the past dependent upon the memory of having so existed; so that if our memory fail us, we cannot then be certain whether we were really ourselves, or in existence, during the time to which such failure refers. Thus a man of strong memory may have a stronger belief in his personal identity than a man with a a weak memory. It seems to us that every man's conviction on this point is in fact equally strong. And memory certainly seems no more likely to help us to a solution of the question as to what constitutes personal identity than any other power of the mind.

Butler more wisely says that personal identity, as he hints Locke's statements imply, is the sameness of the person, or conscious substance, or thinking being, these terms having the same meaning. And the root-idea of personal identity is stated by Dr. Angus in his introduction to Dis. I.* to be, "Does each man continue, through his whole being, the *same* person, or does he become another?" Dr. Angus further says that identity is used in two senses: "it is *properly* applicable to a single object which we affirm to be not another. In a *secondary* sense it is applied to objects which are very much alike." The idea of *continued sameness* is wanting in these two meanings; yet it is found in both Bishop Butler and Dr. Angus's answers to the question, What constitutes personal identity? Evidently the proper meaning of personal identity is best conveyed in the question, Am I myself and not another person? If we can answer that question satisfactorily, the sameness of the thinking being, or conscious substance, throughout its whole existence must be taken for granted, as Butler acknowledges: "Now all beings confessedly continue the same during the whole time of their existence." Certainly a thinking being must continue to be what it is until its Creator sees fit to destroy or annihilate it: and a change (in a philosophical sense) would be a virtual annihilation. But when Butler teaches

* Religious Tract Society's Ed. of Butler's Analogy.

that personal identity is the *sameness* of the thinking being, he allows or supposes the possibility of change (in a philosophical sense) in the thinking being,—a possibility which, according to his own admission, cannot be allowed. If such a change, such a break in the sameness of thinking beings, is never supposed possible, why assert their sameness as an answer to the question, What is personal identity? Evidently, therefore, personal identity is each person's consciousness that he is himself and not another person. And is not the conviction that I am myself and not another person a necessary consequence of my existence?—a something which I must believe because *I am?* This being granted, it is unnecessary for us to go back from the present moment for an answer to the question before us. We need not consult the past. Memory has no office in determining this question. Butler himself admits this in the words:—

"All these successive actions, enjoyments, and sufferings [of the thinking being in the past] are actions, enjoyments, and sufferings of the same living being. And they are so prior to all consideration of its remembering or forgetting; since remembering or forgetting can make no alteration in the truth of past matter of fact." (Dis. I.)

Butler's account, however, is in one sense correct; that is, it is so only because his idea is implied and involved in this further thought, that personal identity is the intuitive conviction of each thinking being that he is himself and not another. There can be no doubt that personal identity has a backward sweep, covering all past existence. But how? If every successive moment I have the intuitive conviction that I am myself and not another person, it is plainly impossible for me to conceive of a single moment in which that intuitive conviction was wanting. Inasmuch as it is and will be impossible for us to conceive a single moment in which that intuitive conviction was wanting, memory can have no office at all in relation to personal identity; except perhaps to remember the fact of the ever-present intuitive conviction, which is tantamount to saying that we remember having existed. We know by a necessary law of our existence that we have been ever the same thinking beings, not because memory recalls past thoughts, acts, and sensations, which, compared with those of the present moment, produce the conviction of such fact, but because we cannot—it is absolutely impossible in the nature of things for us to do so—conceive of a time when that knowledge was lacking, any more than we can conceive of a time when we

ceased to exist. The office of memory is simply to recall the act, or thought, or sensation, the conviction that "I" acted, or thought, or felt, being intuitive at the time that memory recalls the act, or thought, or sensation. Inasmuch as that intuitive conviction is ever present with us, there is no need for memory to recall it. If we could conceive of any change by which we should lose this intuitive conviction and yet retain our present mode of existence in other respects, we could then see the necessity of memory coming in to identify us with the past, though even then it could do so but imperfectly. But as such a conception is impossible, we are bound to conclude that memory has no office in relation to personal identity.

So far the question as to what constitutes personal identity has not been answered, other than by saying it is an intuitive conviction that I am myself and not another person. If we try to ascertain what constitutes the difference between persons, or thinking beings, we may be on the way towards a completer solution of the question. What constitutes the difference between the different species of the same genus of vegetables,—say apples? May it not be that the particular laws which govern the various processes of the tree are different or varied in each species? And may not the identity of each species of (say, apple) tree consist in the independency and free action of the particular law or laws which govern its processes over every other law (say, of nature)? If this be so, only when the various material elements of the tree, and the material elements adjacent to it (as the soil, atmosphere, &c.) come under the influence or operation of those particular governing laws, can they be said to partake of the particular tree's identity. The application of this illustration to man will at once be seen; but it must not be pushed into details, as though it were an analogy. Men are different the one from the other: as different mentally and morally as physically. These differences are characteristic of man in his normal state. May it not be that some particular laws govern the aggregation and assimilation of particles, and their union with the unknown substance called mind, the particular law or laws being different or varying somewhat in the case of each individual? Two men may eat exactly the same kind of food; but we all know that the changes which that food will undergo will be very different in the two individuals, and produce totally different effects in each case. Why does not the food produce the same effects in both cases? We can only reply because there must be some unknown law or laws in operation govern-

ing the assimilation of the food and the nutritive processes of the animal economy, which law or laws differ or vary somewhat in the two cases. And may it not be that the identity of each individual consists in the independency and free action of the particular law or laws (their unchangeableness being always supposed) which govern the processes of his personality over every other law (say of nature)? If this be so, it would follow that no material particles are a part of the personality until they come under the operation or influence of the supposed law or laws. Locke almost touches upon this point in the words, "An animal is a living organized body; and consequently the same animal, as we have observed, is the same continued life communicated to different particles of matter as they happen successively to be united to that organized living body;"* but Mr. Westcott, with force and directness, expresses the idea itself in the following remarks:—

"The clearest conception which we can form of a person is the special limitation of a self-moving power. The power must be self-moving, because a person is necessarily endowed with a will, which is a spring of motion. It must be limited, because so far as our experience reaches, a will can only make itself felt in and through an organism with which it is connected. And yet further the mode of the limitation, including the fundamental laws by which the generic limitation is governed, the original specialities of the particular organism, and the accumulated acts by which the effects of these laws and properties are modified, expresses the individual differences of personality among beings similar in kind. This conception of personality presents to the mind an easy method of conceiving of the change of character in the same person, and likewise of the continuous effect of soul and body upon one another while the body is in constant flux. For man the body is the outward expression of the limitation in each particular case. Yet the word must be used with caution. We cannot understand by body simply a particular aggregation of matter, but an aggregation of matter as representing in one form the action of a particular law, or rather the realization of a special formula. The specific law or formula of assimilation and combination is that which is really essential and permanent. The same material elements may enter into a thousand bodies, but the law of each body, as explained above, gives to it that which is peculiar to and characteristic of it. To take an illustration from chemistry, the same element, pure carbon for instance, can exist in forms wholly different. This difference we represent to ourselves under the idea of some peculiar law of arrangement of the similar particles in each case. And conversely we can conceive how if the constituent element were

* Essay, chap. xxvii., sec. 8.

changed, the action of the different laws of arrangement (supposed to continue) would produce substances truly answering to those which resulted from their action before." (Chap. ii, pp. 140, 141.)

At this point we impinge on the further question, What constitutes personality? Is the soul only the man? Is not the body an essential part of the man? We need hardly say that it has been and is the generally accepted belief among Christians and Christian philosophers that two elements or substances—body and soul, matter and spirit—enter into and constitute our personality. This account seems to us a correct one. Man is neither matter nor spirit, but a being in which the two are so united as to present to us those phenomena which we observe in ourselves and others. Some of those phenomena are external to the mind, and can be observed by our senses; other of those phenomena are internal, and are revealed to us in consciousness. Analysis reveals to us two substances in man, substances possessing, when so analysed, different and distinct properties, to each of which we relegate a distinct set of phenomena. We cannot relegate all the phenomena either to matter or to spirit; and therefore we cannot affirm that either substance constitutes us men, or persons. If we do, we fail to account for a large number of phenomena. It is possible for us to say that the phenomena observed belong on the one hand to matter, or on the other to spirit; but it should still be remembered that we know not what matter *per se* is, nor what spirit *per se* is, and that we are taking the phenomena of a complex being—phenomena which, for all we know, may depend for their existence and manifestation on that very complexity—as being the phenomena of a simple substance. The laws of the union of these two substances are unknown to us, or but very partially known; but *the fact* of the union cannot be denied. As we cannot say we are conscious of our existence, but only of states of existence, so we cannot say we are conscious of this union of two substances in our personality, for consciousness itself, as an attribute of human nature, may be a result of that very union; that is, consciousness may be an attribute of the *person*, and not only of the mind or spirit. To say that consciousness is an attribute of spirit or mind, as distinct from our organized bodies, would presuppose a knowledge of spirit *per se*, and matter *per se*. But we only know each as each appears in a state related to the other. We have not sufficient knowledge to affirm otherwise. We can affirm that consciousness is an attribute of a being in which the two substances of matter and spirit are found in mysterious combination, the nature of which combination and its laws are unknown to us.

Here again we come to the valuable testimony of Mr. Westcott. After stating that "we are conscious of three distinct substances,—Self, the World (that is, a limited '*Not I*'), and God," that "the suppression of any one of these elements necessarily involves an essentially imperfect and therefore a false view of the universe," and that "every age offers types of the errors which thus arise,"—such as Fatalism, Mysticism, and Positivism,—he goes on to say, and the words are weighty :—

"If then we look outside ourselves there is an antithesis which cannot be reduced. If again we look at that which we each call *I*, it will be seen to be essentially twofold. There is an organism, and something which acts through the organism There is a unity of will with a multiplicity of functions. There is an element of permanence in the midst of constant change. There are laws and a power which makes itself felt in accordance with these laws. The organism, with all its variety of sense, its capacity for service, its laws of decay and assimilation, we call the body : the self-moving power, which originates and controls action, we call the soul. And this twofold being is naturally influenced by a twofold affinity. On the one side, through the 'body,' it is connected with the world : on the other, through the 'soul,' with God. · · · Consciousness reveals to us in ourselves individually a fundamental antithesis corresponding to the antithesis which we are forced to recognize without us. Yet more the *I* consists in this antithesis. Nothing is more common than to hear it assumed that the 'soul' is the real self. Yet nothing can be more clear upon reflection than that the only 'self' of which we are conscious is made up of 'soul' and 'body.' The workings of these two are absolutely inseparable. We cannot contemplate the independent action of either for an instant. If we try to do so, we find at the outset the presence of some condition or power which is due to the complementary part in our whole nature." (Chap. ii, pp. 137—139.)

Father Dalgairns, also, in an able paper on the Theory of the Soul, in the *Contemporary Review* for Dec. last, substantially propounds the same views.

Of course we are brought into immediate conflict with those theologians (as the Swedenborgians) who assert that the soul is the man, and with those philosophers (the school of Locke) who seem to support them by affirming consciousness to be an attribute of mind or spirit only. But what the body is when separated from the soul we see at death,—it is simply a mass of matter; but who can tell what the body is united to the soul? May not the very union impart powers and qualities to the body in virtue of which it becomes an essential part of man? On the other hand, what the soul is united to the body we have some slight knowledge of from consciousness; but who can tell what the soul, the spirit, is,

separated from the body? May it not be that the very fact of separation deprives it of certain attributes, the possession of which is essential to manhood? We discuss not now, as it does not lie in our way, the question whether spirit *per se* is personal, and therefore has a consciousness of its own. This Mr. Westcott fully discusses, and comes to the conclusion (from grounds of reason only) that it has not a separate personality. It sufficiently appears, however, from what we have said, that so far as our experience goes, two elements or substances are essential to human personality, viz., what we call "soul," and what we call "body"—spirit and matter—or, as Mr. Westcott has it, an organism and a self-moving power—in mysterious union. Man consists of this union. Consciousness, as an attribute of human nature, commences at the point of union and ceases at the point of disunion. Personal identity is a man's consciousness that he is himself and not another person, and represents the particular law or laws governing the union of the two substances in his own case.

The way is now clear for answering the question, How can the same person, or the same man, be raised from the dead, without the use of the same particles which composed the previous body? And we do so first in the words of Mr. Westcott:

"With regard to man there is nothing unnatural in supposing that the power which preserves his personality by acting according to the individual law of his being in moulding the continuous changes of his present material body and all that depends on it, will preserve his personality hereafter by still acting according to the same law in moulding the new element (so to speak) out of which a future body may be fashioned. In other words, we can understand how the law which now rules the formation of our body may find its realization hereafter in some other element, while the new body will be essentially the same as the old one, as expressing the corresponding action of the same law in relation to the new sphere in which it may be supposed to be placed." (Chap. ii. pp. 141, 142.)

That which is essential and necessary to the reproduction of the body at the resurrection is, not the same particles, but the observance of the same law or laws in its reproduction which governed its processes during life. Whether the matter of the present body, or any other matter, or no matter at all, is used in its reproduction is not of the slightest consequence. If an oak tree dies, it is not essential to the reproduction of another that you should plant an acorn in the dust of the old tree. The law of the oak tree is (so to speak) folded up in the acorn. Place the acorn in any dust, and that hidden law will begin to

operate, assimilating the surrounding particles and governing them through all their mysterious changes till they reappear as an oak tree. The particular thing here illustrated is that there is some law in operation which assimilates particles of matter to the production of an oak tree. There are now some laws in operation governing the assimilation of particles of matter to the production of my body. No particles of matter form part of my body, or of *Me*, until they come under the operation of and are affected by these laws, and so become part of my vital organism. Hence the matter that is thrown off in perspiration, &c., and the matter that is not yet assimilated by the digestive organs, &c., cannot be anything but plain simple *matter*, having exactly the same properties as any other matter. When it has passed from under the laws of our particular organism, we have done with it; it no longer sustains any kind of relation to us. And when those laws are suspended for a while, and their action stopped, as in death, the lifeless body then ceases to have any connection whatever with us; it begins to decay, and returns to dust. But if our bodies at the resurrection are reconstructed according to the laws which governed them and their union with our souls during the present life, we can see clearly how each person may have his own body, inasmuch as personal identity consists, not in the sameness of particles, but in the independency and free action of the laws of each individual personality. All that is necessary is that the suspended laws should again operate, and the same result will follow. With God only is the wisdom to know all those laws with all their variations and the power to set them in motion.

As we have before said, Revelation simply asserts the *fact* of the resurrection of the dead. That revealed fact is the basis of our faith. But it is certainly a help to our faith when reason can go some little way towards seeing *how* all human beings are to be raised from the dead, without having to entertain the strange conceits and theories which mar the historic page of theology on this subject. We were very glad to find Mr. Cox's pages entirely free from them, for they are a help neither to reason nor to piety. There are some possible objections to the view we have expounded, and also some collateral questions of importance, we should like to have noticed; but this article is already too lengthy, and their consideration must be deferred.

Advancing from the actual event of the resurrection of the dead, both Mr. Cochrane and Mr. Cox have some fine chapters on the glorified body. Mr. Cox, in his exposition of the

natural (or soulish) body and the spiritual body, of the first Adam and the last Adam, and of the law of the Psychical and the Spiritual, takes occasion to unfold, with freshness, beauty, and force, the wondrous life of the future and its laws, so far as sound criticism and extensive scholarship can gather them from the profound words of the Apostle Paul. Taking Mr. Cox's work, in conjunction with that of Mr. Westcott, the reader will have a complete and satisfactory discussion of the critical, theological, and philosophical questions involved in this doctrine. Mr. Cochrane's discourses are able, though marred by many faults, some of which we have named. But we cordially recommend them all to our readers, confident that their perusal will create a yet deeper interest in one of the grandest truths of revelation.

H.

Art. II.—OUR ENGLISH BIBLE.

Next to authors who have produced the valuable works which illustrate the history and triumphs of the human mind in ancient and modern times, we are indebted for our literary advantages in the highest degree to able and faithful translators, who have made the literature of the world so well known to us that, for all the useful purposes of life, we have no need to study dead or foreign languages. In the departments of History, Biography, and Philosophy generally, those of us whose linguistic knowledge is confined to our own mother tongue, are nearly upon a level practically with the accomplished scholars who read the works of Thucydides and Pliny, Plato and Tully, in the languages of Greece and Rome; and, generally speaking, it is only for minute critical purposes which, as a rule, affect no principles or important facts, that even scholars need open the portly tomes happily given to the world at the revival of learning in the 15th century. In poetry it must be confessed that we have not the same advantage, and can form only a very imperfect idea of the sublimity, beauty, and tenderness of the great poems of antiquity, whether dramatic, lyric, or epic, from the best translations we possess. We may console ourselves, however, with the possession of poets who have never been surpassed for majesty and grace, whether of thought or expression, by the most distinguished writers of other times and other lands. Chaucer,

Spencer, Shakespeare;—Pope, Dryden, Cowper;—Wordsworth, Longfellow, Tennyson—may well occupy as much of our time as we can afford for works of imagination.

Important, however, as the work of translation is from the point of view of letters, it is still more important in its bearing upon our religion; for if, as we believe, we are the subjects of a divine government and the heirs of an immortal destiny, and if, as we also believe, our relations to both are clearly and authoritatively pointed out in a book which professes to be divine, no acquisition of secular knowledge, or gratification of a cultivated taste, can be so important to us as a perfect acquaintance with the lively oracles which teach us our duty and make us wise unto salvation.

But this book, or rather collection of books, is written in languages which have long ceased to be spoken; and if we are to derive from it the benefits it was meant to confer upon our race, we must either read it in the original tongues, or in translations made by competent interpreters, from autographs, or the representatives of them, such as can be relied upon as genuine with a reasonable degree of probability. Now, setting aside the genuineness and authenticity of the books of Scripture, and other questions relating to their authority, which we have already partially discussed, and to which we may have other opportunities of recurring, the two main points to be considered in reference to any translation, and which have a special bearing upon the subject of a revision of the English Bible which has occupied so much attention of late, are, first, the correctness of the copies from which the translation is made; and secondly, the faithfulness of the version as an adequate representation of the original. Here, then, we have before us the two great departments of Biblical knowledge, criticism and interpretation, both of which are to be considered by all who would form an opinion on such questions as that we have now before us. We shall not, however, enter upon these large provinces at present, but simply make a few observations bearing upon our position in relation to the Scriptures in the English tongue.

There is one important circumstance which must have struck every one who has paid attention to these inquiries with surprise and pleasure, namely, that all the existing Bibles, in whatever language they are given, from whatever manuscripts they are copied or translated, and under whatever difference of circumstances of time and place they have been produced, are substantially alike. They consist for the most part of the same books, are attributed to the same authorship,

narrate the same facts, teach the same doctrines, and, in short, with numberless minor deviations and various readings, they are for all practical purposes identical,—a fact which should be remembered by those who feel their faith in the integrity of the sacred writings staggered by loud declamation about the myriads of discrepancies, and therefore of errors and corruptions, in the various copies. The Jews had no dealings with the Samaritans, and there was no probability of collusion between them to maintain the character of their respective copies of the Law; and, yet, except that they are written in different characters, they are substantially identical. In the third century before the Christian era, the very important Greek version of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint, was made. This version not only agrees in the main with the existing copies of the Hebrew Bible, but was generally used and acknowledged by the Jews, and was actually quoted more frequently than the Hebrew text by Christ and His Apostles. About the close of the first or the commencement of the second century, the most venerable, and, for critical purposes, the most important Christian translation of the Scriptures was made for the Syrian churches. This is called the *Peshito*, or literal Syriac version, and contains the whole of the Scriptures as we have them, with the exception of the second epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, that of Jude, and the book of Revelations, the canonicity of which books was not fully settled at that early period.

And not to mention other versions of great antiquity and authority, such as the Latin Vulgate of the fourth century, and fragments both Greek and Latin of an earlier date, we have innumerable quotations made from every part of Scripture by the early fathers of the Church; and the whole taken together prove that any revision of the Scriptures that may be contemplated does not affect the books considered canonical, either as to their number, their contents, or their general integrity. If, therefore, we could be brought to regard the Bible merely as a convenient means of proving certain doctrines, or of maintaining a given standard of orthodoxy, we might well be content with what we have. For this purpose, as Dean Alford observes, we might dispense with nine-tenths of Scripture altogether. But if the object of revelation is to convey to the mind of man a conviction and distinct practical apprehension of the mind and will of God in all its bearings upon human conduct and experience, then nothing of it can be spared "which may make it clearer or more forcible, better apprehended or more warmly felt. No one can estimate the benefit which may be done to

the souls of men by casting light on any one saying of our blessed Lord, or by making evident a sentence before obscure in the writings of prophets and apostles."

A good deal of misapprehension and unnecessary alarm have been excited by proposals for a new translation of the Scriptures. This matter we may summarily dismiss by stating that in the judgment of every one who is competent to form an enlightened opinion on the subject, no new translation is wanted or intended. Unless, however, it can be proved that copyists, translators, and all concerned in the transmission of the sacred books, were divinely inspired, and therefore freed from any liability to error or bias in judgment, we must expect to find, what we actually do find in them, differences in the text, diversities of interpretation in the versions, and all the other indications of that imperfection which distinguishes the human from the divine; and the great aim of the Church should be, by means of those of its members who are qualified for such an undertaking, to take advantage of every discovery of ancient manuscripts, of every ray of philological light thrown upon ancient languages, and of every accession of knowledge as to the ages and countries in which the books of Scripture were produced, for the purpose of correcting views founded upon inadequate knowledge, and ascertaining even in the most minute particulars, the exact meaning, and even the *ipsissima verba* of the writers, so far as they can be ascertained.

The fact of a revelation from God is an astounding and impressive one, and reverence for so great a boon should lead us to use our utmost endeavours to obtain the divine communication in all its purity. If "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God," it is most important to ascertain of what the Scripture consists, and not heedlessly to admit words of man's teaching as the genuine utterances of the Holy Spirit. There is no copy of the Hebrew Bible or Greek Testament of which it can be said that it is a literal counterpart of the inspired autographs. In fact there is no copy of any ancient book whatever of which it can be said that it is precisely as it was written by the author; and the outcry we so often hear against any apparent innovation or alteration of the present text of Scripture is solely the result of ignorance, prejudice, or inconsideration. And if it be asked why, in a matter of such importance, those who had the charge of multiplying copies of the sacred books, were not preserved from error, the slightest consideration will satisfy us that such a mode of dealing with the subject would be contrary to the moral government of God, in which man is made responsible for the exercise of his faculties,

and in which care and diligence produce different results from indolence and inattention. In short, it might as well be asked, why permit ignorant or prejudiced men to misinterpret the meaning of Scripture? Why not insure, by a sovereign and irresistible constraint on the human faculties, perfect unanimity of belief as to the doctrines it contains? Nay, why not render unbelief impossible, or rather, why permit the existence of moral evil at all? When these questions have been satisfactorily answered, it will be time enough to arraign the Governor of the universe for permitting doubts and misconceptions as to some portions of His Word. In the meantime it must be highly satisfactory to the candid and earnest student of Scripture that the principles of religion are not involved in such errors of the text; that there is not a doctrine or duty of the Christian revelation which is affected in the slightest degree by the various readings of the original, or by any mistranslations in the various versions; and that whatever difficulties may arise from such discrepancies as confessedly exist, may be removed or considerably diminished by such due care and diligence as the nature of the case demands.

We have said that no new translation of the Scriptures in English is required; but in fact there has been no strictly new translation for several centuries, and the authorized version, so far from being an entirely new version, was precisely what is expected of the amended translation now in progress, namely, a correction of obvious errors, but as close an adherence to the present Bible as is consistent with this object. Accordingly the first rule laid down for the guidance of the translators was this:—"The ordinary Bible read in the Church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, to be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit." And it was added, "These translations to be used when they agree better with the text than the Bishops' Bible,—Tyndale's, Coverdale's, Matthew's, Whitchurche's, Geneva." In fact this noble translation, like our English language, was built up during nearly a thousand years, commencing with the Anglo-Saxon verses on the Creation, the Exodus, and the life of Christ, composed by Caedmon, of Whitby, the father of English song, in the seventh century, and the version of the Psalms, by Gurthlake, the first Saxon Anchorite, about the same period. In the eighth century portions of Scripture were translated by the Venerable Bede, and in the ninth century, as we are informed by Asser, the contemporary and biographer of Alfred the Great, the ten commandments and Mosaic precepts were placed at the head of the code of laws

instituted by that monarch. During the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period, from the conversion of the nation to Christianity to the Norman invasion, many similar attempts were made to bring the Scriptures to the knowledge of the people; but after the conquest, the public mind was in a state of utter stagnation as to religion, and for three centuries the Psalter was the only portion of Scripture translated into English, while the Latin was the sole authority without reference to the originals. But in the fourteenth and fifteen centuries a vast emancipation of the public mind was effected; for in the former of these periods John Wycliffe, the morning star of the Reformation, arose; and in the latter, William Tyndale, who first translated the New Testament from the original Greek into English which bears any resemblance to the English of modern times. The first complete translation of the Bible was that of Miles Coverdale, printed at Zurich, one year before Tyndale's martyrdom; and two years later it was followed by the more accurate version of Matthews, commonly called the "Great Bible." Still later, in 1560, we have the Genevan Bible, generally considered the most accurate of those made before the authorised version; and in 1568, the Bishops' Bible, so called because it was the work of Bishop Parker, assisted by other members of the Episcopal body. These books, especially the last mentioned, were the foundation of the authorised version completed in 1611, and which may therefore be said to have been in its present form the labour of a century.

It would be highly interesting and instructive to trace the history of these versions more particularly, and to show how far our translators have profited by the labours of their predecessors, but we must hasten on. The question to which all the observations we have made have reference is this:—In what position are we as British Christians in relation to the authorised version of the Scriptures? How far can it be relied upon as a due and adequate representation of the Word of God; and is it necessary or desirable that, with our present knowledge and facilities for such a work, another translation should be made for general use to supersede the present one? And we are bound to say that, notwithstanding various errors which may be pointed out, and corrections which must be made, our translation (and we only express the general sentiment of competent judges), is one of the best and most faithful ever made, and is a lasting monument of the piety and learning of the age in which it was produced.

With regard to versions of the Scriptures in general we may say that there is something wonderful, and even providential,

in the facility with which the language of the Scriptures may be reproduced in spirit and force in the tongues of the various tribes of mankind. To use the language of a popular writer of the present day, "The very language of this blessed book is such as wonderfully suits its claims to be God's message to all races and tongues. The Bible bears translation into other languages as no other book does. It is at home and at its ease in all languages. You never feel, reading your Bible, that you are reading a translation. You know how stiff and awkward most translations are, and how vain is the endeavour, in most cases, even when made with the greatest genius and skill, to transfer into any translation the spirit of the original. Take that most famous of all the mediæval hymns, the world-renowned *Dies Iræ*; turn it literally into English; the whole spirit and unimaginable grace, power, pathos, and sublimity of the Latin words are fled. Then I suppose all scholars are agreed that no translation can convey to you the turn and spirit of Plato, of Homer, of Æschylus. But it is little to say that our Bible has all the freedom of an original; more than that, the very spirit of the Hebrew words, or the Greek, glows, melts, rouses, calms, in the English. David, Moses, Job, Isaiah, St. Luke, St. John, St. Paul,—they speak to us as they spoke to those who first read them, no whit of their power or character gone: and those of you who know these holy men only from your translated Bibles, may be well assured that you know them as they were. You hear it said that there is no more remarkable miracle of skill than the language of our English Bible, which indeed is the standard of perfection in our tongue. But there is something more in this than the industry, tact, and scholarship of the translators. Surely it is that when the Holy Ghost moved holy men of old to write God's message to all human beings, He moved them to write it in such tongues and in such words as would bear, as human words never did, to be rendered into the mother tongue of every being who has speech and reason. The same Divine Spirit who at Pentecost made the unlettered fishermen into the most accurate and wonderful scholars, giving them the power to go to every tribe on the face of the earth, and speak to its men and women freely in the tongue they knew best and loved best, surely He gave a gift of tongues as wonderful as even that, when He made the holy men He inspired, writing far from one another in time and space, writing in all circumstances, and in the most diverse styles, yet cast their thoughts into such words as would go naturally and kindly into the speech of every human being."

In these observations we entirely concur, and would add that there is not one of the languages spoken by the tribes of this babbling earth to which they apply with greater accuracy than to our own noble English tongue. And we will go further, and say—and we say it with the greater confidence, because we are only expressing the judgment of those who are most entitled to be heard upon such a subject—that there is no version in the English, nor in any other tongue, into which the spirit and feeling, the dignity and simplicity, the pathos and the power of the majestic originals are transfused with such fulness and completeness as in the venerable version made under the direction of James I.

Such being our estimate of the translation it is our happiness to possess, we need not repeat that we are no advocates for a new translation in any strict use of the phrase. But it is one thing to construct an entirely new version, with language adapted to that of the current literature of the day, and another to correct the present version in places where it is evidently faulty. The discoveries made and the facilities acquired during more than two centuries and a half, which have transpired since the production of this version, nay, the progress of biblical knowledge and the improvements in the text which have been made even during the present century, and which are being made every day with increasing rapidity, render it impossible to remain as we were; and the time must speedily arrive when the Christian people of Great Britain and her Colonies shall have the benefit of the light which has been shed upon the sacred records by the labours of pious, learned, and devoted scholars, both at home and abroad.

There are no doubt great difficulties in the way. The state of parties in the Church of England, the theological disputes which prevail everywhere in Christendom, and the mutual jealousies of partizans of every creed, to say nothing of the timidity and groundless fears of a great number both of the clergy and laity in reference to such a project, are sufficient to prevent any extensive revision being made for a long time to come. These difficulties however, it may be hoped, are diminishing; a commencement has been made, and so far as we may judge, with some prospect of a successful issue. In the meantime it is ours to make the best use we can of the means we possess for obtaining an accurate knowledge of the oracles of truth, never forgetting that the love and practice of them is infinitely more important than even the most intelligent appreciation of their meaning.

We now proceed to illustrate our observations on a revision

of the authorised translation by referring to a few passages in which we think alterations are required; some apparently trivial, others of greater magnitude, but all tending in the direction of the object aimed at, namely a correct version. And first, to take a passage in the oldest Book, Genesis iv., 8. Here we are told that "Cain talked with Abel his brother." This should be rendered "Cain said to Abel his brother," and what Cain said was necessarily intended to follow; but of this we find no trace in the Hebrew text. On referring to the Samaritan Pentateuch, however, to which we have already referred, (not the Samaritan version, which is of comparatively late date, but the Samaritan text, which is considered of authority almost equal to the Hebrew,) we find the lost words which at once make the place consistent; and the whole verse reads thus:—"And Cain said unto Abel his brother, *let us go into the field:* and it came to pass when they were in the field, that Cain rose up against Abel his brother, and slew him." It is important to observe that this reading is supported by the Jewish Targums, the Septuagint, the Vulgate, and the Syriac.

Exodus iii., 22.—"But every woman shall borrow of her neighbour, and of her that sojourned in her house, jewels of silver," etc. "The necessity of correcting our translation," says Kennicott, "is not more apparent from any single instance than from the word *borrow*, in this place, and in xi., 2, because the reproach of borrowing what was not repaid, nor intended to be repaid, has been objected freely and frequently, not only to the Israelites, but also to God Himself. As it will not be easy to answer this charge thus stated, it is happy that the verb here used signifies to ask, beg, or pray for. Certainly the Israelites might *ask* and *beg* from their cruel oppressors some rewards for their sufferings; and no doubt the Egyptians would be glad to *give* them the richest presents, in hopes of saving themselves from the further vengeance of heaven. Should any one still contend for rendering the word *shāal*, *borrow*, let him try to render it so in Psalm cxxii., 6,—'O borrow the peace of Jerusalem"; and the word is exactly the same in both places.' Lord Shaftesbury's reflection is this:—'The wit of the best poet is not sufficient to reconcile us to the retreat of a Moses, by the assistance of an Egyptian loan.'"

Exodus xii., 40.—"Now the sojourning of the children of Israel, who dwelt in Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." But the children of Israel did not sojourn in Egypt four hundred and thirty years, a period inconsistent both with history and the New Testament. Here again the Samaritan

text comes to our aid, and gives this consistent reading:—"Now the sojourning of the children of Israel *and of their fathers, which they sojourned in the land of Canaan* and in the land of Egypt, was four hundred and thirty years." This statement agrees both with chronology and with the words of St. Paul in Galatians iii., 17, and therefore ought to be adopted.

Exodus xvi., 15.—"And when the children of Israel saw it, they said one to another, It is manna, for they wist not what it was." The marginal reading, which gives us "They said one to another, *What is this*, for they wist not what it was," does away with the absurdity so obvious in the text, and therefore ought to be adopted.

Deuteronomy vi., 4.—"Hear O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord." This important declaration, so strong and emphatic in the original, appears comparatively weak in our translation.

In the Hebrew it is "Jehovah—our God—Jehovah one." The auxiliary verb not being expressed, it may be understood between any two words which seem to stand most closely in connection. We think with Vitringa that the proper rendering is, "Jehovah is our God: Jehovah is one;" thus affording a sublime recognition of the supremacy and unity of God, the *fundamental principle* of their theocracy and of their religion, as indeed it is of all true religion in every age and nation. It is a terse expression of the first commandment of the decalogue, "I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt have no other Gods before Me;" and is a fitting preparation for the great commandment which immediately follows it, and involves the *vital principle* of all religion, "Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might."

Indeed we think the proper name of the Divine Being, Jehovah, so important in relation to the economy of the Jewish nation, should have been given unchanged wherever it is found in the Hebrew Bible; the appellative, "Lord," employed after the example of the Septuagint version, being entirely inadequate as a representative of this sublime designation.

We will now give an instance or two on a more extended scale to show still farther what we mean by an improved version, and how it may be brought about, and we will only select such as will be generally intelligible and obvious.

In the book of Proverbs, xiv., 9, we find this passage:—"Fools make a mock at sin; but with the righteous there is favour." The slightest consideration will convince us that there is something out of joint here, although Dr. A. Clarke

says "We shall not come nearer the sense than our version does." But no one can say that the passage, taken as a whole, conveys any clear sense whatever. The first member of the sentence, taken alone, is intelligible enough; but where is the correspondence between the first and second clauses? An antithesis is evidently intended, and certainly there is the form, but not the substance, as there is no relation between the two statements, unless we give the latter a meaning, which, however correct, would reduce the whole to an absurdity. The word rendered *favour* here is in Proverbs xi., 1, and in other parts of Scripture correctly rendered *delight*. "A false balance is an abomination to the Lord, but a just weight is His delight." But what would the reading of the passage then be? "Fools make a mock at sin, but among the righteous it is a delight." Surely this could not be the meaning of the wise man! We therefore turn again to the first clause in the Hebrew Bible, and find that the word *āshām*, rendered "sin," is that used everywhere in Leviticus for "trespass-offering," and is so rendered by our translators. And if we refer to that very important passage, Isaiah liii., 10, we shall find the same word rendered "*an offering for sin.*" "When Thou shalt make His soul *an offering for sin*, He shall see His seed, He shall prolong His days, and the pleasure of the Lord shall prosper in His hands." By the simple expedient, then, of giving the word in question the meaning it has in Moses and the prophets, we not only restore the antithesis, and make the passage intelligible, but we find that it exactly corresponds with the teachings of revelation and the sentiments of all good men. "Fools despise the sin offering, but among the righteous it is a delight."

Another erroneous rendering we find in Proverbs xvi., 1.—"The preparation of the heart in man, and the answer of the tongue, is from the Lord." Here the antithesis is destroyed both in substance and in form, and a different turn given to the passage, partly from inattention, and in part, we can scarcely avoid thinking, from an unconscious theological bias on the part of our translators, and a fear of giving countenance to what they considered an erroneous notion. But whatever the explanation, it does seem strange that they should not only depart from the plain meaning of the words, but from every version, whether ancient or modern. "In men are the dispositions of the heart; but from Jehovah is the answer of the tongue," is the literal rendering;—a sentiment which, as Dr. A. Clarke justly observes, corresponds with our English proverb, "Man proposes, but God disposes." Coverdale's

version is the same in sense—"A man may well propose a thing in his heart, but the answer of the tongue cometh of the Lord."

Take another passage in the same book, Prov. xviii., 8. "The words of the talebearer are as wounds, and they go down into the innermost parts of the belly." There is something very incongruous in the structure of this sentence, and one naturally feels a desire to ascertain whether it is really supported by the original text, or whether some light cannot be thrown on it. The ancient versions afford us very little help, for they differ much from each other, and the passage appears to have always been a perplexity to interpreters. Here is an instance, however, of the value of modern philological investigations, and of the importance of placing the results of them within the reach of English readers of the Bible. Hebrew, the language in which the Old Testament was written, has been a dead language for more than two thousand years; and as it is the only book in the language we possess, it must be obvious that the helps derived in the study of other languages from comparing the use of words in different authors, is here only available to a small extent and limited to the sacred books. But the Hebrew is only one of a family of languages of which the Arabic is an important member, having an extensive literature, and being spoken in considerable purity to the present day. Great light has therefore been thrown on the meaning of Hebrew words, especially those less commonly used, by comparing them with corresponding words in what are called cognate dialects, or languages of the same family. In this passage the word for *talebearer* is obvious enough. It literally means *whisperer*, and is employed from the habit of such persons, who circulate their venomous slanders, not openly but secretly, and with precautions against being identified with them; so much so that, when discovered, their painful struggles to escape the consequences of their mendacity would excite pity if they did not move contempt. The difficulty is with the word rendered *wounds* which occurs in no other part of the Bible, and the odd idea of wounds going down into the belly or stomach, an interpretation which is not countenanced by any of the ancient versions. Oriental scholars, however, inform us that the word is found in the Arabic, and in that language means *delicious viands*, which explanation at once affords a very natural and easy sense of the passage. "The words of the slanderer are as delicious viands that go down to the innermost parts of the stomach." That is, as dainty meats gratify the natural appetite, so the depraved mind of the calumniator

and of those who listen to his calumnies, is gratified by listening to tales of scandal. And thus interpreted, the passage presents no difficulty, but affords a useful lesson, and administers a pointed rebuke.

We have hitherto confined our observations to the Old Testament, and to the aid derived from versions and philological considerations. We shall now cite a few instances from the New Testament; and for the sake of brevity confine ourselves to those which may be elucidated by the aid of ancient manuscripts of the sacred books.

One of the most encouraging circumstances in the Biblical enquiries of modern times is the scrupulous care with which scholars have collated and examined these precious and venerable documents, in which all our enquiries as to the text of Scripture must terminate, and which have been happily designated by an eminent critic, *the very title deeds of our Christian inheritance.*

One of the most important criteria of value and authority in ancient manuscripts is the date at which they were written, the earlier being of course, other things being equal, the most likely to be correct representations of the originals. Now although the exact date of the manuscripts cannot, in most cases, be ascertained, there are circumstances which enable experts in such matters to determine their comparative antiquity with a great approach to accuracy, one of the most important of which is the style of writing and the kind of characters adopted. A most valuable classification for this purpose is that into *uncial* and *cursive*, or capital and small letters as we should term them; the most ancient copies being written in the former, which prevailed for the first ten centuries of the Christian era, about the close of which period, or somewhat earlier, the small letters were first invented. Obviously, therefore, those written in the square, uncial, or capital letters are the most ancient, and therefore of the greatest authority.

Probably the most ancient manuscript in existence which contains the entire New Testament is that discovered only a few years ago by Tischendorf, of Leipsic, in a basket of papers destined to light the stoves in the Convent of Mount Sinai, and of which a splendid *fac simile* edition was published at St. Petersburg, at the cost of the Emperor of Russia, in the year 1862. This manuscript, called from the place of its discovery the Codex Sinaiticus, is written upon vellum of the finest kind, and from the shape of the letters, the simplicity of the punctuation, and other characteristics well

known to those who have made ancient writing their study, is believed to have been written in the fourth century.

Next in importance for critical purposes, and of about the same age as the Codex Sinaiticus, although not so complete a copy of the New Testament, is the venerable *Codex Vaticanus*, so called from the Vatican Library at Rome, where it was deposited by Pope Nicholas V., early in the fifteenth century. It contains the whole of the New Testament as far as the ninth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the rest of the book being written by a later hand, and therefore of less critical value. The advantages actually derived from this very ancient copy of the Scriptures are much less than might have been anticipated, owing to the jealousy and caprice of the Papal authorities who are its guardians. Although not so thoroughly collated as is desirable, its general character and the value of its readings are pretty well known.

One of the most important of the literary treasures in the British Museum is the *Codex Alexandrinus*, happily and nobly presented to Charles the First, by Cyril Lucar, Patriarch of Constantinople. This manuscript has been thoroughly examined, and was one of the first applied to that careful criticism of the sacred text which has taken place in modern times. It contains almost a complete copy of the Septuagint Greek Version of the Old Testament, the New Testament with several very considerable deficiencies, and the only extant copy of the Epistle of Clement of Rome. From the elegance and peculiarity of the writing, which may be observed by any one visiting the manuscript room of the British Museum, as well as from the presence in it of some of the earliest writings of the Church, at one time considered canonical, it is generally referred to the former half of the fifth century.

Other important uncial manuscripts are the *Codex Ephraemi*, which contains portions of nearly every book in the New Testament; and the *Codex Bezæ*, which contains the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, with a Latin version. The former of these books, which is considered to have been written in the fifth century, is a palimpsest forming one of the treasures of the Imperial (now National) Library of Paris; and the latter is exhibited in the Library at Cambridge, having been presented to that University by Theodore Beza, in the year 1581. Besides these many other manuscripts of the first ten centuries containing portions of the New Testament, have been examined, and upon the whole these uncial copies form the chief authorities for determining the text. But the cursive manuscripts written during the remaining centuries

down to the invention of printing, although of inferior authority, must not be regarded as insignificant, since they represent much more ancient copies of the sacred writings, and therefore afford important collateral evidence as to disputed readings.

Now let us illustrate the use of these venerable exemplars of the sacred books by shewing their bearing upon two or three texts which have been fruitful subjects of critical discussion.

One of the longest passages, the genuineness of which has been doubted, is the closing portion of the Gospel of St. Mark, xvi., 9—20. The main reason for considering this passage an interpolation was formerly its absence from the Ancient Vatican Manuscript, a doubt which has been strengthened by its omission in the recently discovered *Codex Sinaiticus.* There is, however, a very singular circumstance connected with the omission in the *Codex Vaticanus*, namely, that at the end of the chapter there is a column left entirely blank, said to be the only instance of the kind in the manuscript, and which might indicate a doubt in the mind of the copyist as to the propriety of omitting the passage. It is, moreover, contained in so many copies, both uncial and cursive, in so many versions, and in so many of the ancient Fathers of the Church, that the balance of evidence must be considered decidedly in its favour.

Very different is the state of the evidence in relation to another disputed passage of similar extent (John vii., 53—viii., 11) containing the interesting and instructive narrative of the woman taken in adultery. It is entirely omitted in the most ancient manuscripts, the Sinaitic, the Vatican, the Alexandrian, the Ephraim, and others, as well as a great number of cursive copies. In many others it is inserted with a mark of doubt. It is omitted from many of the Lectionaries. It is not found in the Syriac and some other ancient versions of the Gospels; and, in short, if a genuine narrative of the Apostle John, can only be explained upon the doubtful hypothesis which has been suggested of a second edition of the Gospel by the author.

Still more unquestionable is the spuriousness of Acts viii., 37. "And Philip said, If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest. And he answered and said, I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God." This passage is found in no uncial manuscript except the Codex Basiliensis, written in the eighth century, and a few cursives, in which it is given in various forms. Its presence in any early manuscripts can only be

accounted for by its being adopted from some marginal gloss, a common source of interpolation.

Very decided is the evidence of an incorrect reading of 1 Peter iii., 15, "Sanctify the Lord God in your hearts;" for which all the most important manuscripts we have described, and all the most ancient versions, give "Sanctify the Lord *Christ* in your hearts," which reading ought undoubtedly to be adopted.

We have not space now at our disposal for making more than a slight reference to a disputed passage which for historical and critical interest might well occupy a considerable essay. We mean 1 John v., 7, 8, the long continued controversy about which in the earlier days of textual criticism afforded ample scope for the acumen of scholars and the *odium theologicum* of divines. Indeed, there is probably no text in the Bible which has excited a more lively interest, given a greater impulse to biblical knowledge, or led to more flagrant breaches of sense and charity, than the one in question.

It is sufficient here to say that the words enclosed in brackets in the passage as contained in our Bibles should, in the opinion of all competent critics, be omitted as forming no part of the genuine epistle of John, "For there are three that bear record [in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness in earth,] the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three agree in one." To say nothing of the improbability of such a collocation of words being used by the apostle, and of the unmeaning interruption to his argument they interpose, the judgment to which we have referred is amply vindicated by the fact that the words are not found in any ancient manuscript of critical value; that they are not found in any ancient versions except the Latin Vulgate, and not in the best copies of that version; and that they are not quoted by any ancient Greek Father, nor any Latin Father, except perhaps Cyprian, and this is exceedingly doubtful. In short, we may say with the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, a critic whose candour in admitting clear proof of corruptions in the text is only equalled by his caution and severity in weighing the facts and arguments adduced,—"We need not hesitate to declare our conviction that the disputed words were not written by St. John; that they were originally brought into Latin copies in Africa from the margin, where they had been placed as a pious and orthodox gloss on verse 8; that from the Latin they crept into two or three late Greek codices, and thence into the printed Greek

text, a place to which they had no rightful claim." Terse and decisive on this interpolation is the judgment of Professor Griesbach, one of the most eminent and learned critics of any age:—"If a few dubious, suspicious, and modern evidences, with such weak arguments as are usually adduced, are sufficient to demonstrate the authenticity of a reading, then there remains no longer any criterion by which the spurious may be distinguished from the genuine, and consequently the whole text of the New Testament is unascertained and dubious." Such, also, was the judgment of that transcendent genius, Sir Isaac Newton, whose sagacious mind could not but perceive the incongruity of the words thus foisted into the epistle, and who considered that they were transferred from the margin to the text of the Latin version as the result of the discussions of the schoolmen in the twelfth and following centuries; and after the invention of printing crept out of the Latin into the printed Greek, contrary to the authority of all the Greek manuscripts and ancient versions. We add his paraphrase of the whole passage, which shows clearly the connection and relation of testimony as set forth in the genuine epistle, and what the three witnesses mentioned by St. John really were. We give the text in Italics, and the paraphrase in Roman characters:—"*Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that Jesus is the Son of God,* that Son spoken of in the psalms, where He saith, 'Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee." *This is He that,* after the Jews had long expected Him, *came,* first in a mortal body, *by* baptism of *water, and* then in an immortal one, by shedding His *blood* upon the cross and rising again from the dead, *not by water only, but by water and blood*; being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead (Acts 13, 33) as by His supernatural birth of the virgin (Luke 1, 35). *And it is the Spirit* also *that,* together with the water and blood, *beareth witness* of the truth of His coming; *because the Spirit is truth*; and so a fit and unexceptionable witness. *For there are three that bear record* of His coming; *the Spirit* which He promised to send, and which was since shed forth upon us in the form of cloven tongues, and in various gifts; *the* baptism of *water,* wherein God testified, 'this is my beloved Son;' *and the* shedding of His *blood,* accompanied with His resurrection, whereby He became the most faithful martyr, or witness, of this truth. *And these three,* the spirit, the baptism, and passion of Christ *agree in* witnessing *one* and the same thing, namely, that the Son of God is come, and therefore the evidence is strong, for the law requires but two consenting witnesses,

and here we have three; *and if we receive the witness of men, the* threefold *witness of God,* which He bare of His Son, by declaring at His baptism, 'this is my beloved Son,' by raising Him from the dead, and by pouring out His Spirit on us, *is greater,* and therefore ought to be more readily received."

Besides the corrections required in a translation by improvements in the text, and by philological researches, there are many emendations which are rendered necessary by a better knowledge of antiquities, and by changes in our language and habits of life; but upon these topics we cannot at present enter.

It will be satisfactory to the Christian student to know, first, that so many means of improving the authorised translation are available; and secondly, that the emendations required so little affect any of the verities of our religion. Thus reverence for the truth, and gratitude for so great a blessing as a revelation from heaven, are both enhanced by the conviction that nothing can prevent us from the full enjoyment of this gift, if we are only faithful to ourselves and to the duties and responsibilities it involves.

W. Scott.

Art. III.—NOTES ON NORTH CHINA.*

The "north" part of China consists of "five" out of the "eighteen provinces" into which the empire proper is divided. The central and southern portions have been longer known to Europeans by commercial intercourse, and perhaps so far as the staple produce of those portions is concerned will continue to hold supreme importance in the estimation of Western nations, as all the finest silk and tea are cultivated in and exported from those parts. Some people seem to think China

* These "Notes," referring to the Rev. A. Williamson's "Journeys in North China," &c. (2 vols.), have been kindly forwarded to us by the Rev. John Innocent, Methodist New Connexion missionary, of Tientsin. Mr. Innocent is personally acquainted with a large portion of the territory which Mr. Williamson describes; and as, ere these lines are read, he will be on his way back to China, a special interest will attach to his opinions. During the two years' sojourn of Mr. Innocent in England his health has much improved, and we are sure that all who can appreciate his Christian heroism in returning to a country where the signs are so ominous for foreign missionaries, will be glad to peruse his parting words, and will follow him with their sympathy and prayers.—Ed. M. Q.

is one vast garden of tea plants and mulberry trees, and are astonished when told that there are portions of the country much more extensive than the area of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, where hardly the one or the other is to be found. The fact is, the cities of Tientsin and Peking are from 500 to 600 miles north from the nearest tea-growing district, and tea costs nearly as much per pound there as it does in England.

It is only since the winter of the year 1860 that North China can be said to have been accessible to Europeans. The treaty then concluded between the Chinese Emperor and British and French Plenipotentiaries at the close of the war, opened to foreign trade and intercourse three new ports in what is called the Gulf of Pechili, besides several ports on the great river Yang-tzi. The names and locations of those "three ports" are: TIENTSIN, in the province of Chili, on the river Pei-ho, about thirty-five miles north-west of the mouth of that river, and about eighty miles south-east of the capital, Peking. Then, the port of NEWCHWANG, in southern Manchuria, in the province called by the same name as the gulf of which it stands at the head, namely, Liaou-tung. The third port is CHEE-FOO, and lies on the southern side of the gulf, almost in a straight line north and south from the port of Newchwang. It is in the province of Shantung on the coast, and also very unlike both the other ports in its bold mountainous scenery. In each of these ports there are resident Consuls of the different nationalities which have treaties with China, and merchants, missionaries, and others, living in houses built in foreign style apart from the Chinese, and carrying on trade with, or mision work among, the people, as the case may be. But these ports are only doors to vast regions of country thickly populated and well cultivated. It is into these regions that Mr. Williamson has penetrated as agent of the "National Bible Society of Scotland," to distribute copies of the Word of God, preach the blessed Gospel, and gather much valuable information with which he has enriched the pages of his book.

The limits of North China are defined by "the province of Kiang-su and Ho-nan on the south, Thibet on the west, Mongolia and the Gulf of Pechili on the north, and the Yellow Sea on the east." These boundaries enclose a region "comprising 333,329 square miles" of country. When divided by the five provinces this region is apportioned as in the following table:—

Provinces.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	No. of inhabitants to the square mile.
Chili.....	58,949	27,990,871	473
Shantung.....	65,104	28,958,764	515
Shan-si	55,268	14,004,210	253
Shen-si.....	67,400	10,207,256	148
Kan-su.....	86,608	15,193,125	173
	333,329	96,354,226	

It will be seen from the above table that there is a great difference in the density of population of the several provinces; but if the average of the five provinces be taken it will be found that there are over 312 to every square mile. Some of the other provinces are even more densely populated than the north, so that the average given can hardly be taken as fair for the whole empire, though high enough to convey to the thoughtful mind an overwhelming idea of the teeming life and moral claims of that great country.

"The aspect of North China may be regarded, generally, as one grand slope, extending from the north to the Yellow river, and from the western border of Thibet to the Yellow sea. This slope dips mainly S.E. The northern and western portions of the country are mountainous, while the southern and eastern districts (excepting the centre and east of Shantung) form alluvial plains."—Vol. i., 41.

In the greater part of Chili these plains are particularly dreary, there being "no hills to break the monotony of the landscape, not even trees enough to form a shade; so that in summer time there is a general blaze of heat on all sides. In winter, again, the monotony is equally felt; not a blade of grass is then to be seen, nor a green tree, only a cypress here and there; it is just one dreary extent of plain covered in some places by that saline exudation so common in the north of China. There is nothing for the eye to rest on in any direction save mud graves, mud towns, surrounded by mud walls and enclosing mud houses. Moreover, the sand storms, which occur both in summer and winter, greatly augment the discomfort. In winter these storms come with keen north winds, and in summer they are carried along with fury, darkening the sky, and filling every place with a fine pulverized sand."

"Autumn and spring are pleasant enough as far as they can be in so monotonous a country. The change that occurs in spring is wonderful; in a few days everything seems to rush up at once. In

autumn the abundance of the crops, especially the tall millet, waving several feet over head, takes the place of woods, and enables one to forget the dreariness of winter, the fierce relentless blaze of the summer sun, and the furnace-like heat of the burnt up soil."

The extreme ranges of climate are very marked in this province, the "thermometer ranging from 108° in summer to 8° below zero in winter."—Vol. i., p. 139.

The hills on the west and north abound in good coal of several varieties, that chiefly used by the natives being anthracite, as more suitable to their brick stoves, which are not set in chimnies, but send both heat and sulphur into the room where they may be fixed. Still, there is plenty of bituminous coal, which foreigners obtain for their open grates. The mines are within a hundred miles of Tientsin, and coal thereat can be purchased at a very low price; but the cost of transit, (from the absence of railways), and the taxes levied by the local Mandarins on this commodity are so great as to make it equally expensive with the coal sent from England to the same port. A ton of coal, either native or foreign, costs from £3 to £4 in Tientsin.

"The bulk of the people are engaged in agriculture. They understand the rotation of the crops, and have considerable skill in the treatment of the soil and the cultivation of their cereals, cotton, fruits, trees, &c. Their implements are of a very primitive description, consisting chiefly of a rude plough, harrow, and the hoe. A good many people devote themselves to the cultivation of fruit trees and the vine; ground fit for nothing else is occupied as orchards, some of which are very extensive. Gardening and grafting are well understood, and they have sometimes three or four different kinds of fruit growing on one stock. Among the food-plants, they have wheat, the straw of which is used for paper-making and also straw-braid for hats; barley, millet, both tall and short, Indian corn or maize, pulse, and in some parts several kinds of rice. Of fruits there are cherries, apricots, peaches, plums, nectarines, apples, pears, several varieties of grapes, pomegranates, lemons, quinces, citrons, with gigantic haws; chestnuts, pea nuts, walnuts, dates, and figs, besides a great variety and quantity of vegetables to meet the wants of a people who are chiefly vegetarians."—Vol. I., p. 114.

Mr. Williamson enters very minutely into the productions of the soil and the mineral resources of the country, and some of his chapters are full of practical interest in showing the undeveloped wealth which has been hitherto unknown to most people out of China. The primitive method of working their mines, and the limited demand for their vast mineral resources, leave almost untouched such buried treasures. The

blind prejudice of officials against the introduction and use of Western machinery and railways, not only interferes with the better order of the country and its improvement in civilization, but is keeping thousands of able-bodied and willing labourers in poverty and indolence, where there is scope for the most remunerative toil. In there own house there is "bread enough and to spare," yet they perish with hunger, or become lawless ruffians, or emigrate to foreign lands. There are most important political and social considerations apart from the commercial, which, in such a country, may be urged for the introduction of railways and machinery, and which fully warrant the strong language used by the author when he says, "Steam or anarchy appears the only alternative now left to the Chinese people."

The means of intercommunication in China are of the type known to olden civilization. Their great roads in the north, as well as the Grand Canal, are much worse for use than they were one hundred years ago. The roads in some parts are miserably out of repair, owing to neglect. Still they are in constant use, and are the principal medium of communication between the capital and most of the important cities north and south. The swift couriers, bearing government and official despatches to and from the capital and provinces, traverse these roads on their Tartar ponies at the rate of 200 miles a day. The drays with merchandise, and the ordinary two-wheeled, springless, covered cart of the traveller, drawn by two mules, keep up a constant traffic. Another vehicle much used in China is well described by Mr. Williamson, who had personal experience of the *comfort* of such a mode of travelling, though he rather complainingly says, "We only went at the rate of one-and-a-half miles an hour."

SAILED WHEELBARROWS.

"We met many of their extraordinary wheelbarrows, moving along on dry ground with a sail set; each barrow having a great wheel in the centre, finely balanced. Those we saw were laden heavily, and had a large sheet of cloth set on a framework in front; many of these sails were so rigged as to be capable of being raised or reefed at pleasure, the ropes or braces being attached to a hook close to the driver. We have never seen these wheelbarrows without pity; the strain to the men who manage them is enormous; indeed, we have never seen human beings under such heavy labour. We met many with fourteen bean-cakes on one barrow, equal to seven small donkey loads; and often saw six bales of cotton on one barrow, though two are considered sufficient for a mule; but human labour is cheaper than animal. In many cases there are two men to

each barrow, one dragging and another pushing; but, in such cases, the load was increased."

This strange vehicle, with or without sails, is most largely used in North China, and the European traveller cannot but notice its varied adaptations and services to such a people as the Chinese. It is the common water-cart of Tientsin, having buckets of water ranged on each side of the wheel, which the carriers take from the river to the different houses of the city. It is no uncommon thing to see families and their furniture removed from one residence to another on these useful barrows. On one side the furniture (which in a poor family is very scant) is packed, and on the other side the mother with one or two small children, so as to balance the concern, while paterfamilias is pushing in the shafts, and perhaps a little boy, the eldest son, pulling by a long rope in front. So, whole families with their valuable earthly possessions and comforts migrate or "flit."

The water communication is also very good, there being lakes, rivers, and the Grand Canal, with boats adapted to deep or shallow waters, and for carrying either freight or passengers. The Grand Canal is over 600 miles in length, and is still of great service, but owing to its dilapidation near the Yellow river it cannot be traversed in its whole course as formerly. But, Mr. Williamson says, "it could easily be put into a most efficient condition," and made navigable for small steamers, giving a good water communication with all the great inland markets between Shanghai and Tientsin, without the discomfort of a sea voyage. The mode of travelling on the canal, the country through which it is cut, with many interesting customs and incidents, are well described by the author in his journey from Peking to Chee-Foo. We should like to select several extracts from this part of the work as it refers to a tract of country in which the Methodist New Connexion Mission have a most interesting station, namely, Laou-Ling. But our space will not allow, and we must content ourselves with his description of a common superstitious ceremony amongst sailors and boatmen when starting on a voyage: "A sudden noise of gongs and other instruments attracted us to the door of the cabin. It issued from a large junk on the eve of departure. The crew were firing off squibs, burning paper, and beating gongs to appease the god of the canal, and lead him to give them a prosperous voyage."

THE GREAT WALL:—MONGOLIA AND MANCHURIA.

A portion of Eastern Asia, even less known to Europeans

than China, is now included in the empire, namely, Mongolia and Manchuria. These countries, though geographically distinct from China, are now included, because the present dynasty is a Manchu-Tartar one, and has held sway over the empire for more than two hundred years. There is, however, a natural boundary of mountains; while a more remarkable and better known boundary called the Great Wall divides China from Mongolia. This gigantic work has in many parts survived the wear and storms of 2,000 years, having been built 200 years before Christ by a despot named Chi-Hwang-ti. It starts on the east from the shore of the gulf of Liaou-Tung, near the city of Shan-hai-kwan, and runs in devious line a distance of 1,250 miles over river beds, valleys, and high mountain ranges. It is said that every third man in the empire was drafted to assist in the building, and that being scantily supplied with food 400,000 died of hunger, ill-usage and excessive fatigue. Du Halde says, "that it was built in five years." Once, a million cimeters glittered on it from east to west; now, it is only used as a defence at the great passes and gates. From the observations of modern travellers it is found that this wall is not the same in its construction throughout its whole length. Mr. Williamson, who saw it in different and widely separated parts, confirms these observations. Towards the western end it is only a mound of earth or gravel 15 feet high. We have seen it in other places where it consists simply of loose stones in heaps from 10 to 15 feet in height, relieved by strongly built towers at irregular intervals; and in some places hardly any traces of it remaining. This fact is thought by some writers to account for no mention being made of the wall by the celebrated Marco Polo. But in those parts where it has been built and which remain in good repair there is evidence enough of skill and power to justify the designation GREAT. The height is about 25 feet; at the base it is 25 feet thick, diminishing to about 15 feet at the top, which is paved or terraced for the easy movements of infantry. There are towers at regular intervals, 40 feet square at the base and 30 feet at the top, some 37, and others 48 feet high, as they may have one or two stories above the platform. These towers are solid masonry with arched doorways and windows without wood. The foundations are of huge blocks of stone, on which brickwork is raised on the inner and outer faces, and filled in with loose stones or earth. The bricks are very hard and black, measuring 15 inches long, $7\frac{1}{2}$ wide, and 4 thick. We once carried two of them away from a broken part of the wall, and sent them to England as curiosities, but we have never heard of their arrival.

Beyond this Great Wall is inner Mongolia, which the author describes, and in the narrative of his journey through this part of the imperial dominions he furnishes much valuable information respecting the history, geography, government, and population. He divides the Mongols into two classes, the agricultural and the nomadic. The former have houses, form villages, have farming implements like the Chinese, and are a little more civilized than the nomads. The latter "dwell in tents and have much cattle." "They live and move about in companies, selecting places where there is good pasturage and water in summer, and the shelter of a hill in winter. The men employed in the vast prairies herding their flocks are always on horseback; the women remain in the tents busy with household duties, preparing food, making butter and cheese; but often in an emergency, such as a sudden storm, they will mount a horse and start off to help their lords." Monasteries are very numerous, and education is much neglected. In Mongolia the people are naturally of a marked religious temperament, as may be seen from the small shrines and idols in every dwelling, their extraordinary pilgrimages in which they often measure the way by prostrations, and the number of sons who become lamas or priests, sometimes two or three out of one family.

"The Mongols of the present day possess the same peculiarities of character. Free from the restraints of the town and the conventionalities of society, living a roving life, having plenty of food, fresh air, and perfect liberty to go where they choose on the vast prairies, we might anticipate that they would have well developed frames, and that the most prominent features in their character would be activity of body, love of liberty, bravery, geniality, impulsiveness, and changeableness going from the extreme of frolicsomeness to melancholy at one unexpected leap, and, seeing few new faces, glad to welcome friendly strangers. And such expectations are borne out by intercourse with the people. They are for the most part strong, able-bodied, well-made men, about the average height, with black hair, faces flatter than Europeans, and their senses keenly developed. They are whiter than the southern Chinese, and of a more unsuspicious character, and in fact they are simply like grown-up children. Eating animal food abundantly, consuming milk, butter, and cheese, and by no means sparing of a strong whiskey which they either distil themselves or obtain by barter, they are generally full-blooded with red faces, many of them like our brewers' draymen at home. Inapt at trade and simple-minded, the Chinese find them an easy prey, and in bartering transactions deceive the Mongols most cruelly."—Vol. 2, p. 12.

Of Manchuria Mr. Williamson says, that from the climate,

scenery, and productions, "Were an English school-boy transported to Manchuria in autumn, he would hardly recognize any difference from home."

It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Chinese, who have been as a nation conquered several times by their Mongol and Manchurian neighbours, and are even now under the rule of the latter, are gradually invading and appropriating by the power of patient industry the rich lands of their rulers. The Manchus who remain in the districts colonized by the Chinese, assimilate themselves to the Chinese in almost every respect by becoming farmers or engaging in some definite occupation. Even the Manchu language is dying out in these districts, and is only studied after the Chinese classics by those who seek for some government appointment. Wherever there is a trading town in Mongolia we are sure to find its business men and shopkeepers Chinese. So that while the physical might of Tartary has subdued China, the intellectual power and industrial skill of China are conquering Tartary. Rome, while tolerating the religion of a conquered people, impressed herself, her laws, and civilization upon them; but Tartary finds the conquered with a literature and civil institutions superior to her own, and adopts them as her own.

These regions of Tartary, with their native and immigrant population, have many features which render them most inviting fields of Missionary enterprize.

COREA.

The Peninsula of Corea is not accessible to foreigners; even the Chinese only touch its borders for the purpose of trading; so that the interesting account of this country furnished by Mr. Williamson is not the result of personal observation, but gathered from several very reliable sources. In is an independent kingdom, but maintains a friendly relation with China by the payment of an annual tribute. It is divided from Manchuria by a rude artificial barrier called a "Palisade." It is a land of mountains, with an estimated "area of 79,414 square miles," or "more than three times larger than Scotland." "The climate is magnificent, and the land very fertile, and rich in minerals. It has a peculiar race of ponies, which are little higher than a sheep, about the size of a small year-old calf, and the very colour, reddish brown; but bullocks of tremendous size, with saddles on their backs and shoes on their feet, fine animals. The people clearly belong to the same stock as the Mongols, Manchus, Japanese, and Chinese. They are shorter, darker, but franker than the inhabitants of

north China, and much more like Japanese in their manners. They are a brave people, excellent friends, but dangerous foes. They have a language of their own, which is alphabetical, and resembles the Japanese in many respects; but the Chinese classics are taught in their schools, and every Corean who wishes to rise must master the sacred books of China. In their dress they wear rough white linen, cotton and silk robes, and other varieties of costume; conical wire, and horse-hair hats.

"Their shoes are mostly made of stout twine carefully plaited; they have also straw and leather shoes as the Chinese. They have a curious custom relating to boys; they allow the hair to grow long all over the head, afterwards it is parted in the centre, and the back portion plaited into a long tail; at marriage this tail is cut off and sold to the Chinese, hence the quantity of human hair for sale at the fairs."

PEKING; AND RELIGION IN CHINA.

More than ordinary interest attaches to the capital of the celestial empire, Peking, and although Mr. Williamson makes passing notes on the city on his several visits thereto, he has conferred a great boon on his readers by embracing in the body of his work the able, elaborate, and most interesting description of that strange city from the pen of the Rev. J. Edkins, B.A. The massive walls, 26 miles in circuit, splendid palaces, imposing altars, temples, and monasteries; the public buildings and private mansions; the State and religious ceremonies; and many other matters of peculiar interest, render it attractive to both natives and travellers. We should be glad to furnish several extracts from Mr. Edkins's account of Peking, but they would only be such fragments as could hardly convey to the reader any definite idea of the whole. We must conclude this notice with a brief reference to *Religion in China.*

Mr. Edkins, with his usual terseness and philosophical insight, gives us a theory of the character and gradual developement of religion in China, especially in regard to religious structures. "The ALTARS represent the most ancient Chinese religious worship," such as the magnificent "Altar of heaven" in Peking, which is open to heaven, having no image, and on which animal sacrifices are offered by the emperor annually to the Supreme Ruler of heaven. This is the only relic of Monotheism in the empire, and is a form of worship observed by the emperor SHUN 2,200 B.C. There are also ALTARS to the Sun, Mountains, Rivers, and Winds. The Miaou, or

green-tiled chaupi* attracted our attention. In the main
re found a most remarkable idol, probably sixty feet
and at the base ten or twelve feet in diameter. From
form below rose a huge lotus flower bearing a globular
ered with, so said the priest—we could not count
thousand lohans.† On the flattened top of this globe
large and well executed figures of Buddha all alike,
the four cardinal points. Above these rose another
somewhat smaller dimensions, but also covered with
; then four more crowned Buddhas; over them again
bbe, and finally, an umbrella-like top covering a third
. This immense idol is made wholly of bronze, and is
really a work of art; its age, too, surprised us, for
ellent condition. We could not learn when it was cast,
ured in the Tung dynasty (A.D. 631—897), and was
by the Emperor Wan-li some two hundred years ago.
another famous idol at Ching-ting-foo, which every
uld see. It is, too, of bronze, and was cast in the
(A.D. 960—1297.) It is in a great temple not far
gate, which from the size of its principal god is known
-fah-sze, or the temple of the great Buddha.' This
ceived many marks of imperial favour, but the last
s seem to have been less liberal than their predecessors.
nd pile, boasting four very large imperial 'ting-tsz,'
opies, covering marble slabs on which are eulogies;
ose erected by imperial command have yellow tiles),
dsome buildings, whose green tiles glittered in the
whole place is in good repair. The approach from
by a white marble bridge of three divisions; crossing
ng the court yard, we find in the first building three
dhas and two inferior gods, whose huge proportions
make the reputation of half-a dozen temples. But
ed by the great idol, which is one of the chief glories
oo. It is placed in a lofty building at the back, and
none of the accessories needful to deepen impressions.
ept rather dark, and very fragrant incense, different
what is ordinarily used, filled it with its grateful
uires some effort at first to see the idol, and when at
become accustomed to the 'dim religious light,' the
the figure are so good that it needs still greater effort
height. It is a standing idol, and measures nearly

* short walls erected opposite a door-way, and so arranged
annot see into the interior of a house or yard. They are
very elaborately ornamented, especially those of temples.
nces against evil influences.
ple of Buddha, of whom there are said to have been
, but a multitude of inferior. The small images spoken
owever, likely enough intended all of them to represent

80 English feet in height (78 Chinese.) A sort of crown towers far up towards the roof. The broad face beneath is calm, but very meaningless; the hands are brought palm to palm before the breast; some score of strings of prayer-beads hang round the neck and serve for trimming to the robe; and the feet rest upon a gigantic lotus. On either side is a broad gilt border, ending in a rather useless curve. From between the folds of the robe, which are well modelled, protrudes the figure of a man riding upon a he-goat. Behind, on either side, is a sort of back ground composed of limes, elephants, rocks, &c., all moulded with mud. On either side of the main god are two smaller ones of clay, about 50 feet high, one very ugly, the other good looking. There is a hole in the roof by which the upper part of the great idol is lighted. The sides of the central dome in which it stands are covered with immense numbers of lohans, while behind the idol and its rockwork are other gods and strange devices.

"It is easy to see that this shrine is to the people of Ching-ting-foo what that of Diana of old was to the Ephesians. The door appears to be always open, and the temple is, probably, rarely empty of worshippers."—Vol. I., p.p. 273, 274.

SERVICE IN A LAMA TEMPLE.

"The temple is a huge oblong building flanked by villages where the lamas live; *on each side of the main door stood a great machine, like some large barrel for crockery ware,* and two lesser ones of the same description, *six* in all. Entering we found the inside not unlike a Gothic building in its plan; one long wide aisle ran up the centre; parallel with it on either side were rows of pillars which were draped with silk, and hung with pictures of various devices. Right in front stood the chief idol with lesser idols on the right and left, and before them was a long table on which was spread a great variety of grain cups of cold water and several kinds of food. By the time we reached the temple the priests were all in their places in parallel rows, the elderly priests sat facing each other on each side of the aisle, the junior priests in rows behind them, and rows of boy-priests behind all. Those who sat in the aisle had instruments, and they played and chanted in a way that I had never before dreamed of. The instruments were of the most extraordinary kind; they had buffalo horns, bugles, and drums of all sizes, some *so big* that a man might live in them; cymbals, flutes, bells, whistles, and I know not what else. But the crowning wonder to me was two trumpets, each of which was about twelve feet long, with a mouth two feet in diameter; they were mounted on small wheeled carriages like guns, and the players reclined upon the ground when blowing. Notwithstanding the heterogeneous mixture of instruments the music was capital, though sometimes overpowering.

There were two chief priests standing at the main door a few feet from me, who alternately took the position of leader, and by the waving of their hands and gestures of their bodies led the ceremonies.

They were dressed in beautiful yellow robes, with a gorgeous helmet of the same shape as the old Greek helmet. They conducted the music most creditably, and it was no mean performance; the chanting was beautiful, and done *con amore*. While we stood at the door coolies with large pails of weak tea gradually assembled, when at a signal the performance ceased, the coolies entered with their pails each to his appointed row, and the priests taking a small cup from their bosoms drank their allowance. Thus refreshed they recommenced, and the performance was grander than ever; at the close they all rose and marched in solemn procession before the chief idol, bowed themselves, and then retired. The instruments at the door were praying-machines; the worshippers as they entered turned them round, and thus performed their devotions. Prayers are pasted on both the outside and the inside of the barrels, which being turned round are presented, as they suppose, to their god; and the oftener they turn their praying-machines the more devout they esteem themselves. I could not count the number of priests engaged in the ceremony, but should say there were not less than 400; there are in all 2,300 connected with the temple."

In the course of such extensive journeys as those undertaken by Mr. Williamson there would be ample opportunity for ascertaining the existence and influence of other religious systems in China which are decidedly foreign. To the importance of such an inquiry our author is fully awake, and records in his journals some most interesting and valuable facts. While Buddhism is known to be an importation from India early in the Christian era, it has gradually attained universal adoption and prevalence in China, and become national. But it has in its appropriation by the Chinese received a cast and impression different from its original or Indian type. Besides this there are singular and interesting traces of other systems of religious faith which have their chief power in other lands. There is particular prominence given to the Mahommedans who are very numerous in the north and west of China, having mosques in most of the important cities. Mr. Williamson estimates the Mahommedans as forming one per thousand of the entire population of the country. "They are of Arabian or Persian descent, whose ancestors entered China mainly during the Tang dynasty, A.D. 618—905, as colonists seeking for fields of labour. They do not intermarry, but keep themselves quite distinct from the Chinese; they have, however, adopted the Chinese costume, even to the *queue*. Their houses, their outward manner, and their languaage, are the same as the Chinese, and they are scarcely distinguishable from the Chinese," except in their religious customs and rejection of pork. They keep up

the practice of circumcision, and are strong in their expressions of opposition to the idolatry of their neighbours have public service in their Mosques every Friday, but are not so attentive to daily prayer nor so generally strict as their brethren in other countries. Some of them have held high offices under the government, (as for instance the late Viceroy of Nankin, *Ma ;)* which proves that they can, for the power and gains of office, yield their scruples to the worship of state-gods and offering sacrifices to Confucius. In the city of Si-ngan-Foo our author and his fellow traveller found the "oldest Mosque in China, a building founded in the Tang dynasty, 1,000 years ago." It was computed that 15,000 families of Mahommedans were living in this city at the outbreak of the rebellion which is still raging, and which was raised by these religionists. Owing to this rebellion all the leading Mahommedans there were seized by the magistrates and compelled to make certain fundamental alterations in their religion on pain of death; having acquiesced, they were allowed to live on unmolested, and pursue their usual avocations in peace. It is not likely that such men will make much impression on their idolatrous neighbours. They are, however, generally more energetic and enterprising than the Chinese, and certainly excel as innkeepers their pork-eating and vegetarian fellow-tradesmen. Vol. 2, p. 59.

Special interest attaches to any trace of the early Missions of Christian Church in such a country as China. In this very stronghold of Mahommedanism to which we have just referred is found the famous Nestorian Tablet. The city of Si-Ngan-Foo "was in former times not only the house and headquarters of Nestorian Christianity, but also that of the opposing faith." Both seemed to have made their entrance into the country about the same period, for the Nestorian Missions extended from A.D. 636 to 781. This fact is suggestive, but another fact is painfully sad, that while the false prophet has in the present day followers to the number of 15,000 families, the only remnant of a Christian influence is a *stone* slab with an inscription cut upon it. A few particulars of this monument may be interesting to our readers. It was seen by Mr. Williamson and his companion, and we have a fac simile of it, and a rubbing of the cross by which it is mounted given in vol, 1, p. 380. He says :—

"We went to try to find the famous tablet. Coming to the ruins of a Buddhist Monastery an old priest said, 'this is not your temple, *it is there,*' pointing to a field of devastation away on the south-east. · · · There it stood perfect,

with not a scratch upon it, amid heaps of stones, bricks, and rubbish on all sides. · · · We examined it as carefully as our time would permit; the Syriac on the sides of the tablet was not seen, but we found Syriac at the foot; very likely that on the sides was now built in by a brick covering in which it stood, and which had been done so recently as the year 1859 by a Chinaman who had visited the tablet, and thus repaired it."

"The inscription on the tablet is too long for insertion. The concluding words are as follows:—'This tablet was erected A.D. 781, in the second year of Kien-Chung, the ninth emperor of the Tang dynasty, on the seventh day of the first moon. Ning-shu, priest, being special law-lord and preacher to those of this illustrious religion throughout the regions of the east.' · · · It not only enunciates all the leading doctrines of our holy religion, but it is a most important witness in favour of our faith, in opposition both to the heathen and the Romanist, as it shows that the Protestant form of Christianity is not of yesterday." A fuller account of this monument, with a translation of the inscription, may be found in *Williams's Middle Kingdom*, vol. II., pp. 291-7. In concluding his notice Dr. Williams fittingly remarks:—"The records of futurity alone will disclose to us the names and labours of the devoted disciples and teachers of true Christianity in the Nestorian church who lived and died for the Gospel among the Chinese, and the number of converts who through their instrumentality believed on Christ to salvation."

We are glad to notice evidence of a decided change in the Greek Church, as furnished by the author. "Under the Russian Government it has of late manifested a great interest in the spiritual welfare of the Mongols. It has established missions in several important localities, and is carrying them on with zeal and intelligence; and, what is more satisfactory, the views of divine truth held by the present heads of that church in Asia are clear and evangelical. Mr. Edkins, of Peking, had lately the pleasure of perusing a recent charge issued by the Bishop of Traus Baikal, and he assured me it was worthy of being set beside many of the charges of modern Missionary bishops. The worship of Mary and the saints was alluded to, but in a great measure ignored, and Christ Jesus was set forth as the great Mediator between God and man. And as another proof of the changed character of the hierarchy of the Greek Church in this quarter of the world, I may mention that they now use that translation of the Scriptures in the Mongolian language which was made by

Messrs. Swan and Stallybrass, of the London Missionary Society, and also the school books prepared by them previous to their expulsion. They purchase these Scriptures from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and not only these but also copies of the Scriptures in the Manchu language, for the use of Manchu tribes on the Amoor; and they have recently completed a translation of the New Testament in Chinese for the use of their converts, and for evangelical work among the Chinese generally." Thus the Greek Church has become a Missionary Church, and is purifying her own creed.

The Government of China may be described, in its principles, as sound and good. The central idea of it, as of most of the important political and social institutions of the country, is parental authority: hence the emperor is regarded as the father of the empire, claiming the filial respect and obedience of all his subjects, and being responsible to none but heaven. State ceremony, however, and eastern obsequiousness, have gradually invested the Supreme head, with almost fabulous sacredness and mystery, so as to secure for him from his people the most abject reverence and almost religious homage. He claims and wears the most arrogant titles and pretensions, which Mr. Williamson regards as the "backbone" of the national exclusiveness of China:—

PRETENSIONS OF THE EMPEROR.

"He claims to be the representative of God upon earth; the source of law, office, power, honour, and emolument; the possessor of the soil; the owner of all the resources and wealth of the country; and entitled to all the services of all the males between the years of sixteen and sixty. In perfect consistency with these prerogatives, his government assumes control over 'Tien hia,' or all under heaven; or, as it is sometimes put, all within the 'four seas.' The 'nui-fan' and the 'wai-fan'—that is, the interior and outside foreigners, or, more offensively, and in reference to more remote tribes, the 'nui-i, and the 'wui-i,' *i.e.*, the internal and external barbarians—are all under his jurisdiction. So clearly is the uniqueness of his position understood, that he is acknowledged and called the 'Tien tsze,' or the 'Son of Heaven,' and sometimes the Holy Son of Heaven. He also calls himself, and his designated by his subjects, as the 'Kwa jen,' the 'man who stands by himself,' or the 'Kwa kuin,' 'solitary prince.' He thus recognises no equal upon earth, and scouts the very idea of being placed on a footing of equality with any royal family. The usual apothegm is 'There cannot be two suns in the heavens, or two (Whang-ti) Emperors in the world.'"

Mr. Williamson also furnishes us with a description of the administrative departments of the government and its present

members: the head of course being "the Emperor, now only 14 years of age; but the managing spirit is the Empress Dowager (first wife of the late Emperor, not the mother of the boy-sovereign)."

Working in connection with them are the following Councils and Boards:—The Keun-Ki-Choo, or Cabinet Council; at the head of which is Prince Kung and seven other great men, half Manchus and half Chinese. The Nei Ko, Inner Council, or in other words, the great Secretariat. This consists of seven members, Manchus, Chinese, and Mongols. The members of this Council see the Emperor when invited. The Tsung-Li-Yamen, or Foreign Office, has been instituted since the treaty of Tientsin to meet the present exigencies. Prince Kung is president. "It is with this office that all the business of foreign Ambassadors is transacted." Then there is the Li-Fan-Yuan, or Colonial Office, which has charge of Mongolia, Thibet, and Turkestan. The Han-Lim, or College of learned men who superintend all the literary work of the empire, consists of six boards:—Li-Poo, the Board of Officers; Hoo-Poo, the Board of Revenue; Li-Poo, the Board of Ceremonies; Ping-Poo, the Board of Military Affairs; Hsing-Poo, the Board of Punishment; and Koong-Poo, the Board of Works. Over all is the Censorate, a body of men selected by the Emperor. They have a standing commission to inspect the action of all grades of Mandarins in all parts of the Empire; they all reside in Peking, but each has a distinct portion of the empire allotted to him. They have great liberty in addressing the Throne.

The provincial and subordinate departments of the national admistration are very elaborate and defined, a brief description of which will enable the reader to understand the workings of the complicated machinery of the Chinese system of government.

The country being divided into eighteen provinces, each has its system of officers. The highest is the Viceroy, whose duties are more those of general oversight and espionage than of active administration, and who sometimes superintends the affairs of two provinces. Then comes the Governor of the province, who resides at the provincial capital, and acts instead of the Emperor. He stands at the head of all affairs in the province, is Commander-in-Chief, has the power of life and death, and is entitled to address the Cabinet Council or the Emperor. With him are associated, but subordinate, three other officers of provincial authority, viz., the Superintendent of Provincial Finance, who receives the taxes from the districts, and accounts for them to the Governor; the Criminal Judge

who receives, re-examines, and reports on, all cases of criminals sentenced to banishment, or death, by Magistrates; the Educational Examiner, who repairs twice every three years to each of the departmental cities, and in concert with the Prefect conducts the primary examinations, and reports on the successful candidates to the Board of Education at Peking. Each province, too, has its military establishment.

Then comes "the Tau-tai, or Intendant, of a circuit. The circuit is made up of several departments, of the matters of which he takes a general superintendence, but more especially those relating to trade and commerce. He corresponds with foreign Consuls, oversees the customs, and hears appeals from the Court of the Prefect. He has also authority over the military, and power to call out soldiers to suppress any local rising."

The next in rank is the Chi-Foo, the head of the department, commonly called by foreigners the Prefect. The foo, or department, comprehends a number of districts and their cities. He hears appeals from the Court of the Chi-hsien, or district magistrates, and takes cognizance of all that occurs in his department. The city where the Foo resides is called a foo-city, which is generally a large and important one, of first or second rank.

Inferior to the Prefect is the Chi-hsien, or the district Magistrate. "A hsien, or district, is generally about the size of an English county. He is a very important official, and his duties multifarious. He is the sheriff, the director of police, the coroner, and the judge of all cases civil and criminal which occur in his shire; he is also the receiver of taxes, and examiner, in the first instance, of literary candidates. He has usually one other civil Mandarin under him, called the assistant district magistrate, who is stationed outside the district city. Inspectors of police, masters of prisons, tax gatherers, and a host of subordinates, as clerks, bailiffs, policemen, and turnkeys, are under and responsible to the Chi-hsien."

There are even further minutiæ of this civil administration, descending to the elders of villages and constables, who are invested with petty authority, and held responsible for the good conduct of so many families placed under their jurisdiction. But this general outline will be sufficient to show the system of government in this great country.

"In short, it is a most extraordinary and most excellent system; and were some beneficent archangel Emperor of China, it might work admirably. But, alas, their maxims and rules are now systematically broken through; affording another illustration of the apothegm, that 'the best make the worst.'"

The government is essentially *despotic.* "The Chinese have no power to elect their own magistrates, or frame their own laws, or to exercise self-legislation in any sense whatever. Nor have they the power of self-taxation, or, theoretically, any method of stopping the supplies or limiting the power of the Emperor," except by insurrection. This exception is a singular fact in connection with such a government; but, according to the grand old maxim of their classics and the current notions of the people, "incapacity or wickedness on the part of the Emperor precludes his right to reign; and prolonged famine, pestilence, or hordes of robbers, give the people a right to rebel."

It is unfortunately too common a thing that the provincial or local officers of government, by their oppression of and unjust exactions from the poor people, goad them to desperation, and thus generate the frequent local disturbances of which we hear. These sometimes swell into formidable hordes of lawless marauders and plunderers which carry desolation and death through vast regions of country, defying even the skill and force of the imperial army to check and subdue them. This remark is verified by the present Mahommedan rebellion, of which we have some startling notices in these volumes. See vol. I. pp. 215 and 369. To promote the particular interests of a city or a class, and to guard themselves against the arbitrary exactions and rapacity of Mandarins, certain classes of the people often form themselves into Guilds. These Guilds have their own buildings for assembly, consultation, and feasting, with a temple to their patron saint or god, and are often very wealthy, and powerful in their local influence, so much so as generally to conciliate, and often to overawe, the local officers of government.

It is almost impossible even to summarize the contents of a work like Mr. Williamson's in the limits of a short paper, and we have only referred to its pages on several points of interest. But those who wish for reliable information about the country and people, or who would like interesting readings on China for long or short evenings, or desire a work of reference on the geographical features, mineral resources, and remarkable customs of north China, cannot do better than get this work. We have read it with admiration and pleasure, and are certain it will abundantly repay a careful perusal.

ART. IV.—LANCASHIRE NONCONFORMITY.

Lancashire: its Puritanism and Nonconformity. By ROBT. HALLEY, D.D. 2 vols. Manchester: Tubbs and Brook, 1869.

WHEN Dr. Halley was requested, as in his preface he tells us he was, to write the history of Lancashire Nonconformity, it was probably well known to his friends that the doctor was, in the first place, in possession of much valuable information on the subject; and, secondly, that from his long connection with Lancashire he would be fully in sympathy with his theme. The title of the work might warn off some who would take it to be merely a local history, and the writer intimates his fear that his subject may not interest others than the Nonconformists of Lancashire; but yet we should think there will be few Nonconformists anywhere who will not follow Dr. Halley through his narrative with deep interest and pleasure. Moreover, at a time when ecclesiastical questions have a prominency that they have not had for years, and when every thoughtful Dissenter in the land is anticipating that sooner or later great changes will take place, which, in spite of the temporary defeat of Mr. Miall's motion, will result in the triumph of the principles of Nonconformity, it is well to have brought before us, by a man of broad religious and intellectual sympathies, the religious history of a county that from the time of Elizabeth to the present has occupied a foremost position in all great conflicts for civil and religious liberty. There is another feature of interest to which Dr. Halley says Lancashire may lay claim; its ecclesiastical history has so much that is peculiar and distinctive that it deserves, especially from Protestant Dissenters, more attention than it has hitherto obtained. It has been, more than any other county, the head-quarters of a strong and determined Popish party on the one hand, and on the other of a powerful and zealous Puritan party.

In his introductory chapter Dr. Halley takes us back to the period of Edward III., and shows us in a brief and graphic sketch that this county, now in population the first, in wealth nearly the first, and in dignity, as a royal palatinate, equalled only by Cheshire, was about the poorest and rudest in all England. The common people were illiterate, rude, and boisterous beyond all others. In no other county were witches and

boggarts so plentiful, so frightful, or so mischievous. Yet even then some of the present large towns of Lancashire had attained a sort of importance; the woollen trade had been established in Manchester, and Liverpool had to contribute *one bark and six men* to the French war. The ecclesiastical history during this period is very meagre, giving no promise of the interest it soon after manifested. What little religious life there was clustered round the two celebrated Cistercian monastries of Whalley and Furness; but the monks seem to have taken a far deeper interest in clearing the forests, reclaiming the bogs, cultivating the wastes, and pasturing the flocks on the bleak moorlands, than in communicating religious instruction. Even while the Reformation was spreading with rapidity in other parts of England, it seems for a time to have made very slow progress in this the most Catholic county of England. The priests, on whom the coarse and illiterate depended for knowledge, kept the people in ignorance of what was going on around them. The dawn of reformation, so far as this county was concerned, seems to have been brought about through the mercantile connection of some of the manufacturing places with Holland and Germany; and, soon after they became acquainted with the great changes wrought in the religion of those countries, we find the Reformation so rapidly spreading in the south-east of the county that Bolton obtains the name of the Geneva of Lancashire, while Manchester and Rochdale were in zeal not far behind that "godly town."

Under the Act of Supremacy, Lancashire had its few earnest reformers (among them the celebrated John Bradford, convert of sturdy Latimer, and in many respects like him), but so deep-rooted was Popery that there was an almost complete return to its practices on the accession of Mary. Bradford and Marsh, however, continued faithful to their Protestant principles, and Lancashire owes much to these two brave men for keeping alive convictions and deepening impressions that had been produced in the time of Henry and Edward. Long after their death did the influence of these reformers continue. Of Marsh, especially, Dr. Halley says that marvellous traditions prevailed about him at Bolton, and the special scene of his preaching, "an old stone delf on the steep ascent of Rivington Pike, was long venerated by the Puritans of the neighbourhood as a sanctuary. After his death the reading of his letters,—'godly and comfortable letters' which he had written in prison,—was continued, the affecting accounts of his martyrdom were repeated, his last injunctions enforced, a mark something like the rude impression of a man's foot on

one of the stone steps that lead to the green room in Smethell's Hall, where Marsh was examined by Justice Bartin, his 'mass-priest,' was long regarded as the indelible impression of the stamp of Marsh on asserting his innocence. Of this story I can only say, with the old biographer of Marsh, 'I would as soon give credit to it as to the Popish sign of the indelible stain of the blood of Thomas à Becket in Canterbury cathedral.' The stone, we are told, was once removed, when strange noises were heard every night until it was restored with 'fear and reverence.' As late as the year 1732, one John Butterworth, after sleeping in the green chamber was found 'exhibiting signs of a person disordered in mind;' he asserted he had seen the apparition of a minister in a white robe, with a band affixed to his neck, and a book in his hand. This minster could not have been George Marsh, unless in the spiritual world he had lost his puritanical dislike of the surplice."

Apart, however, from the influence with which these traditions invest Marsh after his death, he was a great power amongst the few Protestants who not only maintained their principles, but contrived to meet secretly for religious purposes through the time of persecution. Dr. Halley says that a few of these secret assemblies are of the most intense interest. The expression is rather strong, unless there be other meetings than those described in these volumes, which are mild compared with the secret gatherings of the Covenanters and those

> "Slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the alpine mountains cold;
> Even them who kept Thy truth so pure of old,
> When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones."

It seems to us that Dr. Halley would have presented a better idea of the sufferings of those times if he had given us more glimpses of these meetings, instead of a somewhat lengthy and rhetorical description of the characters of Mary and Elizabeth, which, suitable enough in a general history of England, somewhat hinders the progress of the narrative just at a time when it is growing rapidly in interest, and we are anxious to be introduced to Nonconformity in earnest. For amongst the most interesting portions of these volumes are the descriptions given of the Sabbaths in Lancashire, and the amusements of the Puritans during this period. The old English Sunday in Lancashire seems to have been fuller of gross immoralities and scandalous disorders than the old English Sunday anywhere else, and that is saying a great deal. Dr.

Halley says, with truth, after speaking of the fierce and cruel sports,–bull-baiting, cock-fighting, gambling, boisterous revelry, obscene songs, drunken frays, noisy ale-houses, full prisons, and miserable homes,—that if these people had kept to their ordinary work on Sundays they would have been happier and healthier, and their families would have been better fed, clothed, and trained; and even at the present time who can help thinking, in view of the notorious and disgusting desecration of the Sabbath that may be observed all the year round amongst, say the lowest class of "Staleybridgers" or "Oldham roughs," that it would be better for them, and all connected with them, to spend their Sabbath in their ordinary work, than in indulging in dissipation, which not only is much harder than their six days' labour, but which greatly unfits them for it? If the Puritans were in danger of going to the extreme of austerity and gloom, we can forgive them much when we remember that they conscientiously believed that that nation could never be virtuous and brave which turned God's day into a time of licentiousness and revelry; and if, further, we remember what difficulties now beset the question of legislation for the religious observance of the Sabbath, and the angry party-feeling at present raging, we shall better understand that controversy which troubled both parties for more than a century, and the account of which, together with that of the sufferings and oppressions of both sides, fills a good many pages of Dr. Halley's book. That he should put a different interpretation upon the austerities of the Puritans from that of some other historians, is what we might have expected; and he does give us occasional glimpses of Puritan Sabbaths in Lancashire, that warrant his saying, "they were as pleasant, cheerful, beautiful, and blessed, as like to paradise as any festive day that ever smiled upon a happy Christian household." In the same chapter Dr. Halley also defends the Puritans from the oft-repeated charge of strait-lacedness in their amusements, and shows that, instead of being the austere people that some historians have represented, they were inclined to be somewhat "jolly." What they did dislike and fiercely object to were amusements connected with ecclesiastical observances, and which were under the direction of the priests. Apart from these, they indulged in sports and recreations compared with which ours are decidedly "slow." Many of their preachers were mighty hunters, fond of bowls and billiards, of baiting badgers and throwing at the cock, and, ("tell it not in Gath"), indulging in private theatricals; but these we so jumbled up with sermons that any evil effect may

be supposed to have been counteracted. In a diary of Christmas doings at Lathom, in 1590, we find that the puritanic Christmas could also be a merry one. "There were seven sermons 'pretched' in a fortnight, and the players played on the Sunday evening after the favourite puritan, Mr. Caldwell, had 'pretched' in the morning." It is curious to inquire, while on the subject of amusements, where these stern people drew the line between the lawful and unlawful; for instance, cards and dice seem to have been loudly condemned, but an occasional cock-fight might be indulged in without censure; and dancing, though not regarded with the general and decided disapproval of the puritan circles of the south, was yet by the stricter sort disapproved; but hunting was a common amusement. All of which reminds us of the incident, related in Baldwin Brown's "Home Life," of an old gentleman who, desirous of being consistent, objected to having light French wines on his table, "for," said he, "we must draw the line somewhere, and I draw it at port and sherry."

Coming to the period of the great conflict between Prelacy and Presbyterianism,—a period which has special charms for a Nonconformist historian, and where there is a danger of becoming rhetorical and high-flown,—Dr. Halley, if he does not tell the story with all the bareness and coldness of a Hallam, or an Alison, and if at times his sympathies carry him farther than a Conformist would care to go, yet has done his work so impartially as to have earned even from a "Saturday Reviewer" the praise of being "an industrious and moderate writer, and on the whole, when Popery and bishops are not too tempting for flings of rhetoric, a candid one, at least, we think he always means to be fair, though his religious horizon is not a very wide one." Perhaps, however, Dr. Halley and a Saturday Reviewer might differ as to what is the right width for "a religious horizon." In describing the great conflict just alluded to, Dr. Halley's work will be useful to those who have a taste for tracing back the historical connection of some of the towns of Lancashire to the time when the names they now bear were the names of noble families, who took a prominent part in that great struggle, viz., the Asshetons, the Duckinfields, the Hydes, and others. In some of the towns that bear the family name, we may find interesting relics of that stormy period. For instance, in Dukinfield there is an ivy-covered, ruinous little place, called the Old Hall Chapel, which not only contains the delapidated tomb of a member of the family, who gained his honour in the wars of the Crusaders, but is identified with the very commencement of Nonconformity. The first Con-

gregational Church in the north of England was gathered here, encouraged by a Colonel Duckinfield, who was a distinguished officer in Cromwell's army, and who had in him much of the same stuff of which his stern old master was made. He seems to have had a way of writing a letter that would delight the heart of Carlyle; his reply to an application for assistance from Cromwell reads like one of the "uncrowned king's" own compositions: "I firmly believe the root of the tree of piety is alive in you, though the leaves thereof, through the abundance of temptations and flatterers, seem to be much withered of late, yet I hope time and experience will have a good influence on your lordship."

Besides the old chapel above mentioned, Lancashire has many fast-decaying relics of those stirring times described in these volumes; and as we pass through the towns or ride through the pleasant villages, there are pointed out to us by the way side these quaint barn-like buildings, with their lozenge-shaped windows of coarse glass; their solid oak pews, high and straight; the sun-dial over the door, and on it some text or quaint verse. Very homely are these buildings, yet many of them have rung with the eloquence of men who, had they been less scrupulous, might have had a cathedral to preach in, a bishop's palace to live in, and, instead of the scanty remuneration for ministerial service in those early days of voluntaryism, might have received a bishop's salary.*

One specially attractive feature in Dr. Halley's volumes is the graphic sketches that he gives of the Puritan Ministers of Lancashire; and it is noteworthy that the historian is so far impartial that he introduces to us not only those who like Bradford, Angier, Newcome, and others, were, for piety, ability, courage, and endurance, ornaments of the Church, but he as graphically depicts those who were no credit to Puritanism.

* Dr. Halley tells us in his account of the opening of one of the meeting-houses that Mr. Grimshaw preached, and "received five shillings for his trouble," and that on this occasion the good people were uncommonly liberal as compared with their church-going neighbours at Didsbury. In the churchwardens' accounts of that chapelry these items occur: In 1671, "Spent on Mr. Worsley when he preached one day att our Chapell, £0 2s. 0d.;" in 1673, "Spent on Mr. Yannes and Mr. Pechy when they preached att our Chapell, £0 0s. 6d.;" in 1679, "Spent in a treat of our parson who preached on Christmas Day, £0 0s. 4d.;" in 1679, "Spent on Mr. Lomas preaching in our parson's absence on two several occasions, £0 1s. 2d.;" in 1681, "Paide when Mr. Dickens were here to preach, £0 1s. 6d.;" in 1706, "Spent when Mr. Collier preached, £0 0s. 9d." In 1746 the churchwarden was more liberal: "Spent when the young parson began to preach, £0 2s. 0d." They, however, on no occasion gave any of their preachers half so much as the Nonconformists of Platt gave the "strange preacher" at the opening of their meeting-house.

For instance, the character that Dr. Halley has set forth more prominently than any other, is that of the Warden of Manchester, Richard Heyricke, M.A., and Fellow of All Souls, Oxon. Heyricke was truly a member of the Church militant, and had qualities which would have placed him high in the estimation of the muscular Christians of our time. No McNeil or Cumming ever thundered out from their pulpits such denunciations as Heyricke did from his. His masterpieces of virulence and fierceness were his fifth of November sermons; and that it may be seen how tame and feeble are modern attempts to crush Antichrist with hard words, when compared with those of past days, we will take two or three extracts from these compositions. He says,

"The fifth of November is a day that ought to be celebrated with preaching, feasting, and sending of gifts one to another; with ringing of bells, making bonfires, and sounding trumpets; with thundering of ordnance, and with all outward expressions of joy, so that God may see our thankfulness, that people may hear from the pulpit our deliverance, that children in the streets may understand the salvation of the Lord, that strangers abroad may know the barbarousness of the plot, the religion of the traitors, and the blood-thirstiness of the Papists. *Horret animus!* Believe me, I cannot think of the terror of the treason, but my spirit is moved within me, my indignation is stirred as often as the mention of the name Papist is made, of such Papists as adhere to the Pope of Rome, Italian, Spanish, Jewish, gunpowder Papists. I could be angry and sin not. I could stamp, knock, bend my brow, and thunder."

Further on he says,

"What peace can I speak to Rome while their whoredoms and witchcrafts remain amongst them? Saul lost his kingdom for sparing Agag, and God may damn me, for aught I know, if I refuse to damn them. When God preaches damnation to them, I may not preach salvation. . . . . Why is it that Popery so much increases among us? I beseech you that are armed with authority, go to the utmost of your authority. You that have power to punish—punish; to indict—indict; to present—present. Let no Papist rest in peace and security. You that keep back the sword from doing justice when God calls it, may yourselves die by the sword of God; and the blood of all that perish through your neglect shall be upon your hearts. *Crudelitas pro Christo pietas est:* Cruelty for Christ is godliness."

Poor Heyricke, with his knocking and stamping, his bending of his brow and thundering, was not the last of the order who had faith in such things for exterminating heresy. If some men were as violent out of the pulpit as they are in,

there would be no living with them. Perhaps their thunder is more harmless when hurled from the pulpit than it would be elsewhere; and seeing that, as a rule, they leave it in the pulpit, and are as gentle as doves elsewhere, they are not such dangerous characters after all. Heyricke, however, seems, when not stamping and knocking in the pulpit, to have been much engaged out of it in conspiracy and intrigue that were far more potent. Still there is another side to his character, as is seen in his proposal to another clerical friend to go and see a performance in Manchester, "where a horse did strange things for such a creature to do;" and also in his weakness for billiards and cock-fighting. Alas! like many another blusterer, he held his principles less firmly than quieter men. His ardour cooled when he was in danger of losing his office of warden. From the time of the spoliation of his church by Cromwell's soldiery, under Colonel Birch, he began to waver, and to modify his old theology; and when reminded of his assertion of the Divine right of Presbyterianism, he replied "that Presbyterianism, and Episcopalianism, and Independency were all of Divine right," which must have meant—if it meant anything more than to explain away his own words—that God had appointed for His Church some government which might be modified according to any one of the three forms. Dr. Halley draws an affecting picture of the old man, who, after playing such a prominent part in Lancashire Nonconformity at a most critical period, lost his old fidelity and courage, returned to his desk in his church, clad in a surplice, and read, as a Conformist, the new service-book according to the Act of Uniformity, thus contradicting in his old age the professions of a long life. Yet so humbled and oppressed was he with the difficulties and duties of his altered position, that he seldom appeared in the pulpit. Disliked by his old enemies, Popish and Episcopal, and pitied by his old friends, he died in the office of warden, which, through so many changes, and at the sacrifice of all his religious principles and convictions, he had managed to retain.

We have dwelt thus lengthily on this character because it represents an aspect of Puritanism which we do not often meet with in Nonconformist literature, but which should not be ignored, however unpleasant it may be. Not always was it the noble and courageous thing which eloquent lecturers in their perorations make it appear. Narrow, exclusive, despotic, intolerant sometimes it was when in authority, clutching at power often, and sacrificing that which was noblest in itself; and we thank Dr. Halley for not hiding this; it makes his

history all the more valuable as a book of reference, and as a contribution to ecclesiastical history, while it shows us that with all its anomalies and faults, and after all the attempts at detraction which its enemies have made, we may well be proud of the courage and zeal, the earnestness, piety, and hatred of evil which characterized Puritanism. Did space permit we might give many interesting quotations from these two large volumes; but enough has been said to show that, if they are not put on the shelf of a student's library, he should not remain unacquainted with their contents.

H. T. M.

ART. V.—THE GOVERNMENT AND THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

THAT the Government of the country should have introduced a measure for the regulation and diminution of the Liquor Traffic, is a proof of the deep feeling which has been created in the public mind concerning the evils which arise from it. Much of that feeling is undoubtedly the outgrowth of the earnest Christian remedial measures which have been pursued by Total Abstinence and similar organisations for the forty years last past. But much of it is also due to the conviction that the Liquor Traffic is damaging most fatally the commercial interests of our land, and that unless its evils are seriously curtailed, and in fact abolished, it will lower our position as a commercial and enlightened country. In order to show how this will inevitably come about, unless something decisive is quickly done, we will quote a few facts from a small volume lately issued, entitled "Our National Resources, and how they are wasted," from the pen of a Lancashire manufacturer. We give the bare totals of many tables of figures which have been most carefully compiled from the most reliable authorities.

The prosperity of the United Kingdom during the last century has been of an astounding character, and the development of our manufactures has been such as to be almost fabulous.

The total income of England and Wales, in 1770, from the soil, manufactures, commerce, the professions, fine arts, money lent at interest, &c., was estimated at £122,000,000; but in

1870, form calculations made by Professor Leoni Levi, Mr. D. Baxter, and others, the income of the United Kingdom was estimated at £879,420,000, being a clear increase of £757,420,000.

In 1770, the population of England and Wales was 8,500,000; now it is about 22,000,000. So that whilst the people have increased two and a half times, their income has multiplied six times over, during the century. This fact alone suggests that, other things being equal, poverty, distress, and want, should be strangers to us, and that all the people should be rejoicing in comfort.

But while the annual income of the nation is nearly £900,000,000, the property of the United Kingdom is only estimated at £6,000,000,000, which gives an average of only £60 13s. 4d. of real or personal property to each inhabitant. This is a strangely small amount to be owned by a people whose income is so vast, and clearly shows there must be a tremendous waste somewhere, which demands the most serious attention of political economists.

Let us look at the facts connected with the pauperism of the United Kingdom. In 1776, which is the earliest return we have on this subject, the total money raised for the poor in England and Wales was £1,720,316, but in 1869 it was £11,776,153, i.e., with a population two and a half times what it was 100 years since, and an income six times better, we spent seven times as much on pauperism and crime. The population of the United Kingdom is estimated at about 31,000,000, and of these not less than 1,281,651 are paupers, and 6,692 vagrants. The growth of pauperism is distressing. In 1860, the return of paupers for the United Kingdom was 1,010,158, but in 1869 the return was 1,242,633, being an increase of 232,475 in nine years. But these Government returns represent only a part of the evil. They simply give the number of paupers who are on the books the 1st day of January, and this inadequately represents the true state of the case. There is no return made of the number who get relief as paupers and vagrants during the year. In 1857 there was a complete return made of the total number of paupers and vagrants, from which it appears there were 2,980,000; and by comparison we may reckon the number of persons chargeable at one time or another through the year as being upwards of 4,000,000, or, taking the lowest possible estimate, and supposing that many received relief twice or thrice in the year, we may conclude that in the course of the year one person in every ten was chargeable to the poor fund.

This pauper class reveals an amount of destitution and demoralisation which is appalling and disgraceful to our Christian character as a nation.

We have by these figures two facts laid before us, viz., we are the richest nation in the world, and a large proportion of our people are in rags. Why is this? They get larger wages than any people in the world, and therefore we are led to conclude that they must spend their earnings uselessly and hurtfully. If we consider the amount spent by the nation upon intoxicating liquors, we shall find that it is the immense sum thus expended that causes the great deficit in our well-being and happiness.

In 1860 we spent on intoxicating liquors in the United Kingdom the sum of £86,897,683.

In 1869 we spent the sum of £112,590,550, being an increase in nine years of £35,692,867. For cotton goods during the last four years we have spent on an average £18,800,000 per annum, being about one-ninth of the sum spent in intoxicating drinks. If we take the amounts expended in 1869 we have, on the average, £3 13s. 2½d. spent by every man, woman, and child on drink, and only 6s. 0½d. on cotton goods.

Here we have the secret of bad home trade, of our misery and destitution. People are pouring down their throats in fiery and intoxicating liquids the money which should purchase food and clothing. In 1869 we drank 944,853,570 gallons of beer, spirits, wine, &c., being an increase of 224,538,648 gallons on the quantity consumed in 1860. The number of persons employed in selling these liquors is astounding. The report of the Inland Revenue Commissioners for 1870 gives us the following information:—

Publicans	98,009
Beersellers	52,590
Other dealers	35,497
	186,096

It is no wonder that we should be flooded with drunkenness, and that we should find it advancing upon us with a heavy tide. In 1863 the apprehensions for drunkenness were 94,745, and in 1869 the number had increased to 122,310, showing an increase in six years of 27,575, and thus proving a sad increase in the intemperance of the people.

We cannot now pause to enquire how disastrously this traffic affects the commercial prosperity and social happiness of the country; this side of the question was dealt with in our last issue, and we have simply presented the foregoing

statistics to prove that the evil is so damaging the material interests of the country as to claim the firm and energetic interference of the Legislature.

A bill on this subject has long been promised to the temperance reformers by the government of the day; but more exciting, though far less important, questions have crowded it out session after session. The Liberal government now in office has won for itself the sincere gratitude of this generation, and we believe it will go down to history as being a more earnest and conscientious government than has ever held the reins of office. It was with warm hope, therefore, that the labourers in the temperance cause regarded its promise that a bill dealing with the subject on a broad scale and with a firm hand should be introduced, and whether the particular scheme proposed ever pass into law or not, Mr. Gladstone's Cabinet deserves the grateful acknowledgments of the country, as the first Cabinet which has attempted to grapple boldly with this gigantic evil.

The measure introduced by Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, in April, and which we deeply regret has been withdrawn for the present, was a bold proposition, and we believe would have operated most beneficially in diminishing the evils of the traffic. It was not a perfect measure, its author never claimed that it was, but it went as far as the public were prepared to allow just now. It will clear the way for the observations we wish to offer if we here give a synopsis of the bill:—

The bill first dealt with justices' certificates.

In future, to sell intoxicating liquors, it would have been necessary to obtain from the licensing justices a certificate, and from the Commissioners of the Inland Revenue, by means of that certificate, a licence. The licensing justices might grant certificates either absolutely, or conditionally upon the consent of the ratepayers—absolutely, when the grant of a certificate did not, conditionally, upon the consent of the ratepayers when it did, make the number of public-houses in a district greater than the scale fixed by the Act. This scale varied in certain specific circumstances. The scale for towns was different from that applied in the country. In towns, for a licensing district containing a population under 1,500 inhabitants, it was provided that there should be one publican's certificate; under 3,000, two; under 4,000, three; and so on, at the rate of one certificate for every additional thousand inhabitants. In the country, in a licensing district containing a population under 900 inhabitants, there was to be one publican's certificate; under 1,200, two; under 1,800,

three; and so on, at the rate of one certificate for every additional six hundred inhabitants.

Next came "the ten years' clause," which, from its great importance, had better be given textually:—

"Every publican's certificate, of whatever description, and whether a new certificate or granted as hereinafter provided to holders of licenses existing at the commencement of this Act, shall be continued annually, as hereinafter mentioned, until the general annual licensing sessions which is held next after the expiration of ten years from the commencement of this Act, and shall absolutely determine at the end of such sessions. After the expiration of the said ten years, no new publican's certificate of either description shall be granted for any licensing district except in pursuance of a proposal made, and, if necessary, adopted in manner provided by this Act with respect to the grant of new publicans' certificates; but the holders of the certificates, determined as aforesaid, shall be entitled to such priority as hereinafter mentioned in the distribution of the new certificates granted upon the said proposal. The provisions of this section with respect to the determination of expiration of certificates ten years from the commencement of this Act, and to the grant of certificates after the expiration of such ten years, shall apply in the case of every succeeding period of ten years."

The bill then went on to fix the manner in which certificates should be granted. It provided that the licensing justices should, before holding their licensing sessions, give due notice of their intention to do so, of their determination to grant some or no licenses, and in the former case of the number of licenses they intended to grant, and also whether their granting of licenses was absolute or conditional upon the consent of the inhabitants. In the latter instance a poll for the reversal of the proposal of the magistrates could be obtained by fifty, or, in case the ratepayers of the district were less than 150, by one-third of the ratepayers of the licensing district. In the poll, which was to be taken by ballot, a majority of three-fifths of the recorded votes was necessary to reverse the decision of the magistrates to increase the licenses beyond the scale fixed by the Act.

The number of certificates to be allowed being thus decided, next came the question—To whom should they be granted? That was to be regulated by competition; the highest bidder—he who offered to pay the highest annual per centage on the annual value of his premises—would receive the certificate.

Where several certificates were to be granted, the highest bidder would receive the first, the second highest the second, and so on till the list was exhausted. It was not allowable

for the same person to send in two tenders for the same license; but the same person might send in tenders for all or any number of the certificates to be issued. So far for new certificates generally.

Then came the clauses which refer to the particular case in which the applicant for a new certificate was a person whose license, determined under the ten years' clause. In that case the principle of competition was in one instance wholly unapplied, and in another applied—but applied partially, with an important limitation. Should the number of certificates to be granted and the number of certificates which had determined be equal, then the certificates would be simply allotted over again to the holders of determined certificates. If the number of new should be greater than that of determined certificates, then, the holders of determined certificates having been supplied, the residue would be distributed, as in ordinary cases, by means of competition. The principle of limited competition was to be applied when the number of new was less than that of determined certificates. In that instance the certificates were to be given to the highest bidder, but the only holders would be the holders of determined certificates. The holders of determined licenses, though they would be thus saved from competition, would not obtain in all cases their certificates gratis. Except in the case in which the publican had obtained his certificate by the limited competition system, he would have to pay a minimum license rent, to be fixed by the licensing justices.

Then followed a number of regulations with regard to the issuing of licenses at the expiration of each period of ten years.

The regulations in reference to the managers of public-houses came next. In the first place, a manager nominated by the holder of the license, and approved by the licensing justices, must be resident on the premises to which a certificate was attached. The manager need not necessarily be the holder of the certificate. To become a manager it was necessary to satisfy the justices that the applicant was of good character. Should the publican's business be carried on, unless in some exceptional cases, by a manager other than the one approved by the justices (whose name was to be entered in the certificate), the publican would be held to contravene the tenor of his certificate. With respect to the liability of the manager, his acts and his duties, as such, were to be practically the acts of the holder of the certificate. He was liable to all the obligations, duties, and liabilities under the bill, if it had become

law, or other Acts, as the holder of the certificate, "except so far as any such obligations and duties can only be performed personally by such holder." And, on the other hand, the conviction of the manager for any offence under the bill, if it had become law, or any other Act, would have had the effect either of annulling or of contributing to annul the certificate in the same way as if the manager had been the holder of the certificate. In the case in which a manager, not the holder of a certificate, was declared disqualified by the justices, then the bill supplied the holder of the certificate with the means of quickly recovering his premises. He might dismiss the manager without notice: if the manager were a tenant under lease or otherwise, his tenancy determined; and in case the manager refused either to give up the certificate, which, while he occupied the position, must, according to the bill, be in his possession, or the premises, the bill enabled the holder of the certificate to soon obtain both back by an appeal to a court of summary jurisdiction.

A number of clauses which dealt with licenses to inns, eating-houses, railway refreshment-rooms, theatres, and the like, did not very materially alter the present regulations in force with respect to such premises, and need only be referred to. The same remarks apply to the arrangements for the granting of certificates for sale for consumption off the premises only. This may be noticed with regard to a beer-shop license, that the holder of the licenses was himself to reside on the premises.

Certain regulations with reference to the annual issuing of certificates came next, and then we reach the second great branch of the bill,—that referring to police regulations—the following provisions of which are the most important. We shall describe them in the present tense as if they were before the country, because we do not think they will be materially altered in the new bill about to be framed:—

Where drunken persons are found on the premises, or where drink is sold to a drunken person, the holder of the certificate, or the manager, shall be deemed to knowingly permit drunkenness to take place on his premises. The hours of opening are: For houses authorised to sell liquor for consumption *off* the premises only, from seven o'clock in the morning to ten o'clock at night on week-days, and from half-past twelve till three, and five till nine, on Sundays. For premises authorised to sell *on* the premises, on week days from seven till twelve, if situate within any licensing district in the metropolitan district no part of which is situate within four miles from Charing-cross, or in a town containing a population of 10,000 inhabitants;

and till eleven if situated elsewhere. On Sunday such premises will be closed after nine o'clock at night, before one o'clock in the afternoon, and between three and seven o'clock in the afternoon. An exception is made in favour of inns and eating-houses, which will be allowed to open at half-past twelve instead of one, and five instead of seven in the afternoon. The power is given to the justices, with the approval of the ratepayers, to close the public-houses an hour earlier on week days, and entirely on Sundays. Exceptions will be made in favour of travellers and lodgers. With respect to adulteration, the penalties may be fine or imprisonment, together with the loss of certificate, the disqualification of the holder or manager and of the premises. A person convicted under this section will be compelled to affix a placard stating this fact, for the space of a fortnight, on such portion of his premises as the licensing inspector may prescribe. A publican will be likewise obliged to submit, when asked to do so, a sample of the liquor he offers for sale, to the inspector, on being paid the value of this sample. A certificate will be forfeited if the penalties which have or might have been imposed amount within three consecutive years to £65, or within five consecutive years to £100. Premises in like manner convicted shall be disqualified for two years, and holders of certificates or managers for five years. To carry out the provisions of the bill, if it become law, a force of police inspectors will be created. These inspectors shall have the right to enter any public-house at any time, and other houses when supplied with a justice's warrant—such warrant to be issued when the justice has reasonable ground of suspicion, from information on oath, that the house in question is selling liquor by retail without license. The remaining sections of the bill are for the most part recapitulatory of the provisions in reference to existing interests. Applications for compensation in respect of abolished privileges are in some cases allowed. The holder of an existing retail license shall be entitled to a certificate at the first general annual licensing sessions held after the passing of the Act, if he suffer from no disqualification which would have prevented him from obtaining the renewal of his license under former Acts. Every person, however, who obtains a certificate under this section will have to pay in advance in each year a license rent of 2 per cent. on the gross value of his premises, provided that no license rent be less than £1 and more than £6.

On the publication of this bill the licensed victuallers and all who were interested in the retail trade took fierce alarm,

and the rancorous abuse which was poured out on the Government revealed how strongly excited were the selfish instincts of the trade. The strongest terms of opprobrium were lavished upon Mr. Bruce; deputations poured into the lobbies of the House of Commons; petitions were laid for signature in the open streets of the large towns, and in many places drink was freely given to those who would subscribe their names. These facts to our minds proved that the bill was a decided advance in the direction of sobriety and virtue. The selfish instincts are always infallible; when they are seriously aroused it is never without due cause, and the opposition excited by the introduction of this bill was a clear proof that it was fitted to accomplish great results. On the other hand the Temperance organisations were opposed to the bill on the ground that it gave the ten years' license to the present occupiers of public-houses, subject of course to stringent restrictions. They complained that the restrictions were not strong enough, and demanded that it should not be conceded to the publicans that they had a vested interest in a traffic which was so productive of human misery. No doubt this twofold opposition has been very discouraging to the Government, and rendered it willing to embrace the opportunity afforded by the delay in passing the Budget, to withdraw the Licensing Bill, on the plea that there was not time to properly consider it this session. A promise, however, was given by Mr. Gladstone that the measure should be divided, and that a bill dealing with the second great branch of the subject should be introduced as early as possible. This conclusion on the part of the Government we deeply regret. Indeed we do not believe that the opposition to the bill was really of much strength; it was fierce and blatant, but it was not strong; the newspapers largely condemned the measure, but the newspaper press of this country is becoming less and less the exponent of public opinion. In America it has already ceased to be so, and in England it is failing increasingly in this office and especially with regard to social and philanthropic movements, the general newspaper press is strangely out of harmony with the public mind. We believe that no bill was ever withdrawn by any Government amidst more genuine regret, and that none would have been received, when properly understood, with a more general approval by the intelligent public.

The ten years' clauses relate to the most difficult portion of the question. In a work recently prepared by Professor Leoni Levi, statistics are gathered to prove that £117,000,000 of capital are invested in the production and sale of intoxicating

liquors. Calculations have been advanced of a counter kind, showing that no more than £70,000,000 are thus invested; but if we take a mean and say £95,000,000, we are met with a fact far too stubborn not to be recognised by the British public. To say that no attention is to be paid to this fact, because the licenses granted to retailers are only from year to year, and, therefore, to assume that the traffic may be stopped at the conclusion of any year, is not to meet the question. This capital has been invested on the tacit understanding between the public and the retailer that the license would be renewed from year to year unless it were forfeited by misconduct. The very provisions in the Act now in force relative to the withdrawal of licenses on misconduct, prove that it was understood that they would be renewed annually if the retailers maintained an orderly house and observed the statute. With the strongest feeling therefore against the traffic itself, we think there is quite enough force in the cry of "vested interests" to weigh with the English people. It is for the temperance and Christian public to devise some way of meeting this difficulty. Mr. Bruce has proposed his way, and the only other suggested is that of giving compensation, or buying out those now engaged in the trade. But this could not be done out of the public revenue, with the heavy national expenses which are now proposed; and private benevolence is, we fear, unequal to the task. The method suggested by the Government was not the best in principle, but it was practicable, and as quick a method of diminishing the evils of the traffic as any likely to be carried. The bitter opposition offered by the Temperance Associations is much to be regretted, and they will probably have cause to repent of it before long.

The principle of "local option," which we believe to be irrefragable, and which has entered very much into the legislation of this generation, is recognised in the Act, and might have been used with very great effect. The United Kingdom Alliance is a strong and influential association, but we hope it will not act as an obstructive one; it should not be impracticable, nor refuse to be satisfied with anything less than the cession of the whole of its programme. Political and social reformers of late years have been glad to get their objects granted "bit by bit," and we should have rejoiced if the Temperance Reformers had accepted this bill,—at all events, as an instalment of what they desire. If the bill had been carried, they might have so energetically worked the clause embodying their principle as to vindicate its claim to larger application. With regard to what are called "the police clauses," so far as

they extend they have our thorough approval; if it had been proposed to close public houses entirely on the Lord's day, except for travellers, we should have been delighted. There is no part of the traffic less defensible than the Sunday trading. To cause other trades to stop business and permit this to proceed on that day, is anomalous and unjust. It is a contravention of the divine law, it is unjust to other tradesmen, it is an active hindrance to the success of Christian enterprise. Sunday schools and churches should therefore be vigilant in bringing to bear all their influence to induce the Government to extend the hours of closing to the whole of Sunday. Our hope of the measure is past for this session, but we have the promise of the Cabinet that the subject shall be again introduced early next session. Then it will come before the House in another form. The first Bill will deal only with the so-called "Police Clauses," relating to the shortening of the hours on Sundays and week-days, to the prevention of adulteration, and to the prevention of the sale of drink to incapable drunkards, &c. Every point of that Bill should carry the hearty concurrence of philanthropists. For very many it will not go far enough. But it is time we learnt wisdom. The subject of National Education was shelved year after year through the senseless squabbles of the sects, and now we have been obliged to accept a measure that may be only a doubtful good. Let us not repeat this folly in relation to the drink traffic, but gratefully accept, as part payment, all legislation which tends to lessen its evils, and to remove its temptations from the path of the people.

The larger and more difficult subject of licensing, proposed to be dealt with by another measure, will probably be a renewal of the Government propositions with certain modifications. In the meantime it is for the intelligent Christian sentiment which exists in the country to make itself heard unmistakeably. Those who are impressed with the evils of the drinking system should be more than ever in earnest to awaken general interest on the subject, to present in startling array before the public mind the awful results of the traffic, and to stir up the dormant minds of members of Parliament, who greatly need "coaching" and quickening on subjects like this.

W. J. T.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Great Social Evil; its causes, extent, results, and remedies. By WILLIAM LOGAN. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1871.

England's Curse and its Cure. By J. WALTER. With an Introduction by CHARLES GARRETT. London: Stock, 1871.

Our National Resources, and how they are wasted. An omitted chapter in Political Economy. By WILLIAM HOYLE. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1871.

WE class these works together because they are on kindred subjects, all of the greatest moment to Christian citizens. It is not our intention to analyze their contents, but simply to recommend them to our readers, and especially our ministerial readers. Patriots, philanthropists, and Christians should all give these books a careful and studious perusal, and become perfectly acquainted with the portentous facts which they present for consideration. They are facts which will make the heart ache, and the eyes stream with tears, but for all that they are not to be ignored, or recognised merely to be dismissed again from the memory; for the certainty of their existence none can doubt, and in their baneful consequences all classes of society are in danger of being involved. If Christian ministers, Sunday school teachers, deacons, leaders, all in fact who have any regard for the weal of their country, the honour of God, and the establishment of purity and righteousness among men, would for a month give these works a continuous, earnest study, we believe the good resulting therefrom would be incalculable.

Human Power in the Divine Life; or, the active powers of the mind in relation to religion. By NICHOLAS BISHOP, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1871.

THIS is a book very difficult to read,—at least we have found it to be so. Not that we say this to disparage the work; when our meaning is understood some may think it tends to its commendation. As the title indicates, it is a treatise on highly important, yet withal very abstruse, subjects. These subjects, and the author's views upon them, are not to be comprehended, nor even apprehended, all at once. For that purpose they require careful and protracted consideration, and the result of such consideration has frequently to be expressed in the words of the psalmist, "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain to it." The exercise incites to trains of thought which, with many minds, will lead to perfect bewilderment,—that is for a time. But by continuous gaze the vision will probably improve, the objects contemplated will stand out more clearly and definitely; and though the relation of the human to the divine—where the two powers touch and intermingle—will ever have points of inexplicable mystery, yet our conceptions of this

relation will become more intelligent and satisfying. We may probably in our next give the work an extended review.

Sermons. By JAMES M'DOUGALL, pastor of the Congregational Church, Darwen, Lancashire. London.: Williams and Norgate, 1871. Price Five Shillings.

WE like these sermons very much indeed. They are characterised by freshness, vigour, clearness, and beauty of thought. We believe Mr. M'Dougall is a popular minister in north Lancashire, and this volume of sermons shows that his reputation has a substantial basis. It speaks well, too, for a community that such a preacher can be popular, *i.e.*, gain largely a public hearing; for Mr. M'Dougall does not deal in "milk" for "babes," but dispenses "strong meat" for "those who by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil." These discourses, which are selected and printed as spoken, are of a convenient length for remembrance, and happy is the congregation, in our opinion, which is favoured with such Christian instruction as they convey. We have been pleased with the even, general excellence of these pulpit deliverances; one high level is, for the most part, maintained; yet if we were to single out any for special praise they would be those on "Christ at the pool of Siloam," "Christian Theism and Scientific Teaching," "The Beauty of the Lord," and "The Covenant of God." Our space will not allow a more extended notice of this admirable volume, or we would gladly give a few extracts to show our readers the style of thought and expression which is agreeable to "Lancashire Nonconformity" of the present day. Instead thereof we cordially recommend the book to them; if they should halt awhile on meeting a few peculiar phases,—such as "resensitize the God-knowing capacity,"—we urge them to go on--"read, learn, and inwardly digest,"—their spiritual health will be all the robuster for the process.

The following works have been received and will be noticed in our next issue:—

"Laymen in Conference," by T. Percival Bunting. Stock, 1871.—"John Wesley; his Life and his Works," by the Rev. Matthew Lelièvre. Translated by the Rev. J. French, B.A. Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871.—"Wesley his own Biographer. Being Illustrations of his Character, Labours, and Achievements, from his own Journals and Letters." With an Introduction by George Stringer Rowe. Elliot Stock, 1871.—"A Manual for Young Christians; being a guide to that path, position, and and service," by Edward Bennett. Elliot Stock. 1871.—"The Class Leaders' Assistant and Christians' Handbook, containing nearly 500 views of Christian doctrine, duty, experience, and practice, arranged for ready reference." with copious index, by John Bate. Publishing in 12 parts, 2d. each. Stock.—"Sacred Music as a Recreation." A few words to musical people. Nesbit & Co., 1871.—"Careless Daughters." A sermon to young women, by G. D. Evans. Price one penny. Stock.—"The Life of the Rev. Joseph Wood, with extracts from his diary," by H. W. Williams. Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871.—"Life's True Beatitude; or, Who is Wise?" a Poem, by the Rev. J. C. Bass. Wesleyan Conference Office.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY,

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ART. I.—THE LAW OF THE GOSPEL IN THINGS DOUBTFUL.

THE religious "Magna Charta," or the Great Charter of our liberties in the moral and religious sphere, is to be found in the fourteenth chapter of Romans. The Magna Charta signed at Runymede, six and a half centuries ago, was but a faint echo of the Major Charta of St. Paul. The principles of liberty and toleration are most distinctly and comprehensively laid down in the latter,—so distinctly and comprehensively that civil society may safely rear its superstructure of freedom upon them; and though the strain upon particular portions of the growing pile may sometimes be great—sometimes too great—the foundation at any rate will never yield. All that is required is simply a good legislative architect; in other words, a careful application of the Apostolic Charta would for ever prevent both religious and civil oppressions, with all their resulting personal and national miseries. More particularly, we should hear little or nothing of strife in relation to such doubtful things as the eating of meats, the drinking of intoxicating drinks, and the observance of Church holy days, as Christmas Day, Good Friday, fast and feast days, saint days, and the Sabbath Day.

To understand the subject clearly, we should remember that the Mosaic economy was an economy in which definite and distinct commandments embraced almost every detail of practice. Nothing, or but very little, was left to the independent judgment of individual Jews. A "Thou shalt," or "Thou shalt not," met them at every turn. But in the Christian dispensation this is not the case to the same extent. Much is left to individual judgment. Love to Christ takes the place of definite command in most cases. The law of the old economy was a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ. The obedience necessary under the Law was the best preparation for the spiritual life of holy love under the Gospel.

But when Jews in Paul's day became Christians they could not easily throw off the grave-clothes of the old dispensation. They walked about with awkward gait in the broad field of Christian liberty. They had been brought up to observe details, and details they would observe. Very clumsily did they apply the broad principles of the Gospel to practical life. They wanted to graft the new *life* on the old stock of Mosaic obedience. They never thought in those days that

> "The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
> And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
> Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

And when Gentiles, who had enjoyed the utmost liberty of individual choice as to meats and drinks and holy days in their pagan life, became Christians, they could not silently submit to the restrictive policy which the converted Jews sought to carry out. They did not become Christians to be fettered in their practice; and, on the other hand, the Jews did not become Christians to have, as they thought, their Mosaic laws repealed, or resolved into universal license. Here were two thunder clouds, and they brought forth lightning. Intense Conservatism, represented by the Jew, clashed with the rising power of Liberalism, represented by the Gentile; and the noise of the strife reaching the ears of St. Paul, he interfered. It was not the first time that two men, or two sets of men, each with a different set of conscientious convictions, had met in strife together: and it will not be the last. But it is important, in the intervals of peace, to enquire how one should act in such difficult circumstances. St. Paul knew that the Gentiles did not understand that Christianity consisted in meats, and drinks, and holy days. He was convinced otherwise, for he writes, "I know, and am persuaded of the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself;" and further, "The kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." He could not, therefore, side with the obstinate Jews, and say to the Gentiles, "you must eat this, and not drink that, you must observe this day, and not observe that." On the contrary, he turned round to their spiritual oppressors, saying, "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth," and proceeded to lay down the grand law of Christianity, which embraces with comprehensive sweep all such contingencies, and which, if faithfully observed, would for ever prevent the strife of opposing beliefs.

And what is that comprehensive law, put into few words?

Before we state it, however, let our position be clearly understood. We have no political reference whatever in any of our remarks, unless we distinctly state so at the time of the allusion. We shall keep in view Christian society distinctively, and strifes occasioned therein in consequence of the clashing of conscientious beliefs in reference to things doubtful. To return: that comprehensive Christian law is, *that men, as servants, are directly accountable, not to each other, but to the Lord only, who is to be their judge.* In other words, each Christian is not a judge of his brother,—has positively not the least right to interfere judicially with the practice of his brother,—and ought conscientiously and at all times so to act and speak and think as one who believes that each Christian brother is only and directly responsible to the Lord for his belief and practice.

At the first blush this broad interpretation of the law may seem to sanction excessive and injurious liberty by allowing all kinds of belief and all kinds of practice; but it does not in reality, for we are speaking of men who are united to Christ, and to whom therefore Christ becomes a law,—yea, more than a law, even a *life.* A real relation to Christ exists, and that relationship is a sufficient security for the lawfulness of a brother's faith and practice. It may also seem to prevent us holding any opinion in reference to the general conduct of Christians; but in reality it does not. It only prevents us so judging our brethren as to visit them with certain penalties if they ignore our judgment.

The value of this great law cannot be over estimated. If it is properly understood, Christians may live together in harmony, notwithstanding diversities of religious manners and customs, and minor variations of creed. There can be no sound progress, morally and spiritually, without such a law. If it is misunderstood, Christians immediately become bigots and persecutors, tormentors of their brothers' consciences, and scourges in the Church. It consists of two parts.

The first part of it is the truth *that each human life is not a mimic despotism,*—that it does not begin and end in itself. Each man is not his own judge, nor the judge of his fellows. His own will is not his law, nor the law for others. We, individually, are not Lords or Sovereigns, "for none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself." Our life is not a self-originated life in any sense. Another than ourselves gives us being. Nor is our life a self-sustained life in any sense. In childhood we are utterly helpless. In youth friends take their share in our proper up-bringing; and in manhood

we find it impossible to isolate ourselves from our fellows, though as a rule we do so in that period of life more than at any other. But the extremes of infancy and old age meet in a common dependence. The hoary locks that proudly braved the storm at last grace the sod.

There are further illustrations and confirmations of this great truth in the constitution of things. Neither we nor our ancestors had any hand in forming the world, or in making its laws. The mightiest intellect and the most soaring genius cannot rise above one of them. Newton, as well as his maid-of-all-work, had to submit to the present arrangement of things. So had Canute, though he pleased his flatterers by a show of ignorance; and imperious Elizabeth, protesting, was obliged to submit to her conqueror, Death. Men of giant will are ever protesting and ever submitting. They soar like the eagle and bathe themselves in sun-clouds, but return to their eyrie among the rocks far below with tired wings. While free, man is limited in his freedom; indeed, the freedom exists because the limit exists. As Locke says, "Where there is no law there is no freedom." Lawlessness is the most dire bondage, as the French Revolution and Fenianism have proved. Man is free to act only according to the capacities of his nature—according to the constitution given him. He cannot fly, like birds; he cannot run, like deer; the uneducated ploughman cannot paint like the educated artist, nor speak like the practised orator. His will is not self-derived and all-powerful. Its freedom, while real, is limited, the limit being, not the restriction of law, but the restriction of nature. The judgments of men presuppose certain laws in action over which they have no control, and the presence of certain conditions which they cannot supply. Imagination, too—that swift-winged and many-hued faculty—is restricted to the known, for no man can imagine that which he never saw and never heard of. The exercise of those affections, also, which hallow and sanctify human toil, presuppose and depend upon mutual relations and good offices.

Evidently, therefore, no man is justified in thinking and speaking and acting as though these mutual relations did not exist—as though he lived to himself: in other words, no man is justified in exercising despotic functions. No man has power to make laws for others in reference to what they shall eat, or drink, or enjoy, or believe, or do. No man can thus transfer to himself the functions of others' consciences. To attempt it betrays an unjustifiable distrust of the efficiency and authority of conscience itself, and impeaches the divine wisdom in constituting it the judge of individual life and

practice. We would not lessen the value of the obvious fact, that the consciences of all men need enlightenment and instruction; but how often under cover of its professed enlightenment have men put chains round it and reduced it to vile slavery! If we suppose some one invested with such despotic power for a short time, we can see directly that obedience to his individual will could not be enforced without the destruction of the very powers sought to be coerced. Such a supposed despot would not be governing free intelligences: he would simply be destroying so much liberty and creating so much slavery; he would be unmanning men. For any man to attempt this presupposes a superiority over those he seeks to coerce—a superiority of nature, not of education only—he is not warranted in assuming; and to use a power which education or the suffrages of others may give us unjustly or ambitiously is really to castigate ourselves instead of others. Besides, we forget that if it is right for one man to impose restrictions upon another's conscience, and enforce them by all the means in his power, it is right also for another to do the same. Once allow such an assumption and a system of retaliation would be introduced into society which would be a disgrace to Christianity and a ruin to man. And the history of Church conflicts is for the most part a history of huge assumptions and huge retaliations,—assumptions ebbing, and retaliations flowing, and *vice versa*, till the sea of Church life was lashed into foam and cast up mire and dirt. Ah! when will man remember that might is not right in the vocabulary of heaven!

In human nature there are certain things which can be predicated of all alike; these supply the groundwork for all kinds of legislation. But there are other things in human nature which cannot be predicated of all alike; and as these are not made certain to us by the science of human nature, and very often elude observation,—sometimes even that of the most gifted,—they cannot be made the ground-work of legislation, nor of decided and dogmatic judgments. A practical statesman never burns his fingers by legislatively meddling with such uncertain data. Certainly, in this respect, "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Many a theologian's finger has been burnt to the bone by such unwise meddling. And the tendency is not yet extinct among some religious men to make that which is merely incidental an universal rule for the guidance of others,—to change the changing into the stable, and that which is beautifully and wisely variable into a

monotonous and degrading sameness. Too often they succeed, and by their success not only is the law of charity—"Judge not, that ye be not judged"—violated, but those whom they seek to govern are insulted. They say to them in effect: first, you are not capable of judging for yourselves; secondly, even supposing you are capable you cannot be trusted to use your own judgment rightly in this certain conjunction of circumstances so as to honour yourselves and us; thirdly, you are raw and ignorant, and as ignorance is always best in chains, we take upon ourselves to bind you with wise counsels and laws. Now the first is an insult; the second is worse—it is sin; and the third is a combination of both, to express which we can find no word. A man who is not trusted is likely to turn out as expected: in other words, faith is the best educator. A man who is treated as ignorant is pretty sure to remain so.

Among the strangest of things connected with Christian society is the unwillingness of some Christians to trust their brethren to the broad law of freedom of conscience. They itch after some amount of practical interference with the individual life of brethren, and are really gratified and pleased when the consciences of others are clerks to their own. Such men, strange to say, are quite sincere in believing that their work is a work of mercy, and credit themselves with leading those who they believe are not able to lead themselves: in other words, they act as a conscience to those who they believe have no consciences; and, in their simplicity, they never suspect that other men are equally exercised in reference to themselves. Yes, if you ask them, "Why do you not leave your good brother to be led by his own conscience?" they stare at you with confusing effect, as much as to say, "He has no conscience, sir." Such men, too, have a deeply-rooted dread of universal anarchy resulting from the enfranchisement of every individual conscience. The floodgates of heresy would be opened; divine law would be destroyed beneath the wheels of this terrible Juggernaut—so-called freedom; virtue and morality would change their complexion as this or that mind looked at them; in fact, the foundations would be gone. We will not stop to indicate how much of self-conceit, and how much of jealousy lest individual power should be jeopardized by such enfranchisement, is to be found in such a representation; but at once pass on just to notice that they who use such arguments (and their name is legion) are betraying no small amount of unconscious inconsistency, for if such results would certainly follow the enfranchisement of all men's consciences, how is it they have not followed the enfranchisement of their own? Either

their consciences are bound, or the dreaded consequences are all imaginary,—mere ghost-shadows which their ghostly minds project.

Turning our attention for a moment from religious to civil society, we can clearly see that this distrust of a broad unhampered (but not lawless) freedom is the greatest obstacle in the way of its full realization. Those who are in the enjoyment of a full freedom, and who have learnt to value it and use it well (not, however, without having made many mistakes), fear to grant the same measure of it to those classes who have it not to the same extent, lest they should not value it and use it well. They are unwilling to permit them to gain a great blessing on the same conditions,—a few mistakes. But distrust here, as elsewhere, means stagnation, and the establishment of vested wrongs. A healthy faith here, as elsewhere, means progress, though it be not without the usual number of stumblings. This distrust, however, does not exist so much in America as in England, nor so much in England as in France and Germany. And as in America the awful results so much feared by the distrustful possessor of freedom have not followed the universal enjoyment of the blessing, neither need we anticipate any such direful consequences as those mentioned above, when a proper freedom of conscience is enjoyed by every member of Christian society. On the contrary, we believe that a broad, unhampered freedom of conscience throughout Christendom will consolidate rather than weaken Christian faith,—strengthen the foundations of morality rather than undermine them,—exalt the divine law rather than debase it,—and, by rendering individual Christian character more strong and robust, hasten with rapid strides the great consummation so devoutly to be wished, when all from the least to the greatest shall know the Lord. To trust this broad law of freedom may confine every one to the government of himself; but that would be a result worthy of universal thanksgiving. It may bring a large number down from their thrones of power; but such thrones are well out of the way. The exercise of despotic functions among Christian brethren is doomed in the words, "For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself."

The other part of the comprehensive law of the Apostle is the truth *that Christ is the despot*, to use the word in its best sense. Man lives under a divine despotism, or government by God's absolute will, and he is therefore responsible, directly and only, to God, "for whether we live, we live unto (or by) the Lord, or whether we die we die unto (or by) the Lord:

whether we live, therefore, or die, we are the Lord's." We have no hesitation in saying that a right conception of this truth would revolutionize Christian society by abolishing its fettered freedoms, and by establishing a safe and sure law in their place. Our liberty is certainly great, and the public infractions of its spirit are not numerous. But in too many cases, as all men have more or less noticed, the natural love of power and desire for mastership, not finding a public vent sufficiently large, have been thrown back on comparatively private gratifications. Entrenched behind these secret earthworks the enemies of freedom of conscience remain secure. The Apostle's utterances on this subject, like keen mountain air, brace up one's relaxed moral sense, and infuse fresh vigour into one's conscience. What rare disregard of traditional trammels he manifests, and what a bold flight he takes into the clear heaven of truth, in the words, "He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not regard it. He that eateth, eateth to the Lord, for he giveth God thanks; and he that eateth not, to the Lord he eateth not, and giveth God thanks!" This part of the law branches out into three parts: 1. Absolute divine ownership; 2. Personal and direct accountability; 3. A direct, divine government in each particular life.

Nothing can be clearer than God's absolute claim to the possession of all things;—"All things are Mine." Nor can we deny this great truth without at the same time repealing the law which all are careful to observe in civilized society, viz., that the handiwork of a man's own hands or brain, the product of his own toil, is his own property. By no process of reasoning can we free ourselves from the position that "we are not our own." Reason demands that someone be acknowledged as our Creator. This truth, however, is admitted by all Christians, and we may therefore pass on.

This obsolute divine ownership lays the foundation for personal and direct accountability to God only. We say *personal* accountability, meaning that the accountability cannot be transferred to another man, as to a priest, nor to any number of men, as to a Church, or Council, or Conference, or Committee. To think that we may transfer it is a delusion; to actually transfer it is to sin against ourselves by selling our birthright—the most glorious privilege that can be conferred upon a man—for a mess of pottage; and against God by encouraging and conniving at blasphemy; while yet we do not escape personal accountability, for God will hold us respon-

sible for the misuse of the powers of the mind which such a transference implies. We also say *direct* accountability, meaning that God never has delegated, and never will delegate, any one to take His place and receive this account of our stewardship in His stead, with the one exception of Christ Himself, who is the Lord, and who has all judgment committed unto Him by the Father, until He shall deliver up the kingdom to the Father, that God may be all and in all. For any man to arrogate to himself this prerogative of Christ is blasphemy. No man, no Church, is authorised to take the place of Christ. Every conscience must be left alone with its God.

The doctrine of personal and direct accountability to God only, leads us to the further doctrine of a direct divine government in each particular life. God is in each life, working out some purpose; even as He is in each nation, controling every complicated movement and guiding it towards some designed development. The Lordship of Christ—this divine despotism—is necessary, if the divine will is to be done in each particular life. Here we begin to see the injury, the sin of meddling with individual life in any of the stages of its progress. We have power to twist and bend the young sapling till it accords with our taste, for God has given us that power over vegetation; but we have not power to bend the lives of others to suit our views, however philanthropic and even religious in their character those views may be, for God has not given to us such a power. We speak not now against the legitimate influence we all more or less exert upon each other by the expression of our views, by reasoning and persuasion. We speak more particularly of the overstepping of that safe and legitimate line into the domain of actual interference with and restriction of the rightful liberty of another, and of the infliction of certain penalties on non-compliance with our will,—penalties very numerous and well understood, though other than imprisonment, torture, and flame. Some may say that but for the interference of men in ages past with these so-called rights of conscience, the Church would never have been so free and strong as now; but such an opinion is best set aside by the question,—Would not the Church have been much stronger and much freer than it is at present had it never been cursed with such interference? The history of the Church of Rome, of the Church of England, and of Methodism supplies crushing answers to this question, and proves beyond the possibility of doubt that the present liberties of the Christian Church have been obtained in the very face of such interference,—yea, in spite of it. The government of

God, as directly concerned with individual Christian life, has been ignored: God Himself, as the absolute Governor and Judge, forgotten, and all the more readily forgotten, as forgetfulness here affords opportunity of practical interference with the development of individual life. But it seems to us that each man's own life is as much as he can well manage, and that he who thinks he can manage the lives of others has not yet seen the mysteries of his own. There is a wonderful depth of philosophy in the Apostolic advice, "Study to be quiet, and to mind your own business."

The belief of a divine government in national life gives great sublimity to the study of history. Many of the civilizations of the world, and many of the eras of the Church, may be worthy only of every good man's condemnation and scorn, so wicked, so basely wicked, were they; yet if, in the light of faith like this, we can see that from their depths a higher state of civilization and Church life was being evolved, they are touched with a true sublimity. The possibilities of better things lie slumbering in the worst. A divine touch may wake them into life. The most degraded individual in our midst to-day may become, in the divine hands, the most exalted of saints. But he must be left in divine hands if it is to be done quickly and well. We may not be able to prevent ourselves condemning and scorning the wickedness of the wicked, and the mystery of badness in connection with direct divine government may puzzle us; but if, out of the things we scorn and condemn in individual life, God is evolving a good and holy purpose, each individual becomes sublime, and deserves the utmost consideration and respect. Instead of meddling, it becomes us to stand by in awe, only speaking and acting when commanded to do so by God Himself, and then careful to speak and to act only as commanded. It is awfully possible for men, by thrusting themselves in where angels fear to tread, and by obstinately adhering to their own wilful course of action, to spoil divine work, and hinder the accomplishment of a divine purpose. Men want to be gods. The oily, attractive words of the subtlest of serpents,—"ye shall be as gods,"—were none the less persuasive because they were true. Ever since, Lordship has been the desire of the sinful heart. This is the true reason why some men put themselves between the individual conscience and its Lord.

We would emphasize the *directness* of the relation of each individual to the Lord. The times have gone by when the civil power can interfere with this relation. Whatever it may have done in olden times, now its wings of power are clipped,

and its instruments of persecution lie rusting in neglected dungeons. But is to be feared that its assumption of such a power, though dead and buried, is rising again in the numerous organizations of the present day. They are assuming, with regard to size in some cases, and certainly with regard to number, enormous proportions. Without writing a word in condemnation of any particular organization, we can see that, could every organization in existence accomplish its purpose, the modicum of individual liberty remaining to us would be very small indeed. We have one organization forbidding the use of animal food; we have an organization discountenancing the drinking of water, and another absolutely forbidding the drinking of intoxicating liquors; we have an organization for secularising sacred days, and another for resisting such secularisation; we have various organizations for the advancement of amusements, and others for resisting such advancement; we have organizations for encouraging the use of reason and the critical faculties, and others for the casting down of the pride of reason; we have an organization for the extension of liberty, and another for its restriction; we have organizations for the advancement of various kinds of religion, and others for the advancement of various kinds of infidelity; we have religious, philosophical, scientific, political, philanthropic, social, and trade organizations, almost without number, and most of them opposed by other organizations whose object it is to defeat them. Indeed, there is hardly an opinion or a belief of any importance which has not an organization behind it to bring it to the front, and an organization before it to prevent it coming to the front; and were it not that one organization is very wisely made to counteract another, we should all be in danger of being organized out of existence. As it is, our liberties are seriously invaded. From the midst of this Babel of organizations we lift our feeble voice, asking Presidents, and Secretaries, and Treasurers, and Committees, who we suppose form no small army of organizers in the body politic, to remember that no self-constituted bodies of men have power to restrict the prerogatives of the individual conscience, to interfere in any way with its supremacy, or to lessen our sense of direct accountability to God only. To do so to any extent, though seemingly a pressing necessity at times, is to sow the seeds of future revolution and strife. We cannot introduce the division-of-labour principle into morality and religion. The manufactory does not represent to us an ideal society.

The invasion of the sacred prerogatives of conscience, by and through civil and religious organizations, is a subject which

requires serious consideration, and might well engage the attention of the historian of morals. Very few men, we presume, are living who have not experienced a conflict between their own inalienable rights and the interests of the particular organization with which they may be connected. Immediate commercial advantages tempt to slight moral transgressions, and to the concession of certain moral rights, and principles of expediency gradually override the principles of morality. In resisting such temptations, the struggles have often been great, and the pain caused by them very keen. Some of those struggles are the subjects of history,—especially of religious history. Sometimes men have accommodated their consciences to the interests of the organization to which they belonged, and have become more or less obsequious and hypocritical. Sometimes, however, individuals would not yield, and when the organization was strong and determined, they have had to go to the wall, as in poor Huss's case; but if they happened to be numerous, there came a split,—a schism,—as in the case of the two thousand Nonconformists two centuries ago, and in other cases which might be named. It may be said, and said truly, that a body of men have a perfect right to fix upon a certain constitution, and organize themselves into a body for the carrying out of some purpose, and that it is their interest to quell all treacherous indications. Certainly men have this right *within certain limits.* If there are to be no limits we do not see how tyranny, oppression, despotism, and slavery are to be overturned or even spoken against. We have to come back to the fundamental point,—the consideration of those very limits beyond which we may not go for anybody and anything; and we shall find that they include certain inalienable prerogatives common to us all,—especially freedom of individual conscience and judgment, unattended by any kind of penalty in their fullest exercise and development. Society, the Church, and civil government, if righteously founded, must be based on these fundamental rights. If these rights are ignored or prostituted to any purpose other than their own natural one, it is but a question of time as to the downfall of that society, or church, or civil government. The question is not, How far can individual privileges and prerogatives be made to subserve the interests of any particular organization? but, Ought not every particular organization to consolidate and extend the privileges and prerogatives of each individual member of society? In the former question, conscience and moral considerations are supposed to be of secondary authority,—a supposition which ought never to

obtain any legislative acknowledgment; but in the latter question, they are supposed to be of supreme authority in the individual,—a supposition not only worthy of, but justly demanding, the chief and most respectful legislative acknowledgment. Bishop Butler has conclusively established the supreme authority of conscience in the individual, and his doctrine is received by the vast majority of Christian moralists. But we would enlarge the sphere of its operation by making its authority supreme in all organizations, civil and religious. We would have them adapt all their discipline to it. Every arrangement should be in harmony with it. We would not have a single individual right, not a single prerogative of man, trampled upon, or silently set aside, for any consideration whatever. We are convinced that only as we justly apply the righteous principles embodied in the Apostolic Magna Charta to all the varied activities of the age in general, and to the activities of our own life in particular, can we secure for ourselves and for others a sound civilization and a true happiness.

We do not conceal from ourselves that these views have an important political significancy. If ultimately victorious, they will certainly land us in democracy,—a something which sounds very ominous in the ears of some good, worthy men. But we are afraid neither of a political nor of a moral democracy. Democracy, *per se*, is not an evil. And we must remember that, in those days, conscience will be the supreme authority in human nature, and Christ the Lord of conscience. There is nothing so democratic in its influence as the Gospel. There is no person so democratic in his views as Christ. And we notice with considerable pleasure that among Christian nations a feeling, or rather a conviction, of brotherhood is extending and deepening which bodes well for the ultimate triumph of the broad, comprehensive freedom of Christianity over the exclusiveness of class-institutions and class-prejudices. These, we believe, will continue to be modified until they lose their old character—caste-narrowness—and gain one in harmony with the genius of Christianity. Movements have originated in centres of Christian influence, and are being sustained by the activities and devotion of Christian men, which are destined to revolutionize the face of society. Political combinations cannot resist the growing might of these movements. Ideas have immense force,—especially ideas ennobling the individual man. They will worm their way into political life and transform it. They will gradually mould a civilization, and make a history. Such a force is

Christianity, with its ideas of individual freedom of conscience and of judgment, and of direct accountability to God only.

So far we have satisfied ourselves with an abstract statement of our subject. We are strongly tempted to apply the principles we have we trust to some extent elucidated, and the elucidation of which was our object in writing, to some modern violations of them; but such a temptation we intentionally resist. Here and there we have hinted at various applications, and the intelligence of our readers will readily imagine others, bearing upon teetotalism, the Sabbath day, and other sacred days, sectarianism and sectarian institutions, and various matters connected with organizations generally, all of which subjects are growing in importance in the present day, and some of which are likely soon to become the subjects of earnest debate and searching investigation. It would ill become us, on such a subject as this, to leave nothing to the exercise of individual judgment.

In addition to laying down and applying the comprehensive law that every man, as a servant, is accountable to one who is his Lord, the Apostle also gives us several corollary truths, or minor laws connected with the greater one and branching out of it; and with the mention of these we must conclude our paper.

1. In the words, "All things indeed are pure," connected with "It is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is made weak," the Apostle reveals the law that many things are lawful which are not expedient. In 1 Cor. x., 23, he states this law in so many words. Meats, drinks, and a thousand other debateable things, are not in themselves evils. It cannot therefore be a sin, for instance, to eat meat, or drink intoxicating liquors; but it is certainly a virtue to deny one's self the use of anything lawful for the sake of others who are weak. We should treat our brethren in practical life according to their own conscientious convictions, and not according to ours.

2. Lest men's liberty, however, should be too much restricted, through a too universal application of this law of charity, the Apostle propounds another law in the words "Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God," viz., that it is our duty to allow to another what our conscience cannot allow to ourselves. Men are not to bind other consciences by the law which binds their own. And when men give up certain lawful practices for the good of others and out of regard for their conscientious scruples, they are to be credited with obeying, not the law of conscience, but the law of charity. It is abso-

lutely necessary, if the law of charity is to be rightly observed, that men with conscientious scruples allow to others a liberty which they cannot allow to themselves.

3. All that such individuals have to do is to remember the very valuable law given to us in the words, "To him that esteemeth anything to be unclean, to him it is unclean," in conjunction with the words, "And he that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin," which law is, that a violation of conscience is, in its effects, tantamount to a violation of God's law. The man who doubteth, therefore, must not yield to the example of him who doubteth not, unless he is first persuaded of the lawfulness of doing as others do. The law of conscience is to men as the law of God, and, as such, must be observed in its integrity. But the conscience of the man who doubteth, not being the only conscience in the world, he need not seek to bring the consciences of those who doubt not under its sway. All consciences must be allowed to act according to the measure of their light, and according to the will, not of man, but of God. And as the good brother who doubteth would respect his own conscience and have it respected, so must he respect the consciences of his brethren; and as he would fear to offend against his own conscience, so must he fear to offend against other consciences. By obeying the dictates of our own conscience as we would a law of God, we discharge our duty; but we overstep the bounds of liberty as soon as we seek to impose the particular law or laws of our own individual conscience upon a Christian brother.

As it is a great temptation to many men,—and especially to conscientious men who have power and influence,—to increase the essential conditions of true Christianity, the Apostle very wisely sums up the whole subject,—nay, comprehends it in a yet larger and much nobler one,—when he says, "For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink; but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." Some men are tempted to exalt their opinions into essential truths, in order to give an importance—a fictitious importance, however—to their peculiar views which they could not otherwise possess. Hence power is so eagerly clutched at by such men. But it is very pitiful to exalt the conclusions of our poor, fallible understandings into a creed to which all the poor, fallible understandings over which we have a little power shall be bound to subscribe, on pain of severe displeasure, and in many cases, loss of office, position, and living! Shall man be so proud of his reasoning faculties that his most delightful employment shall be the draw-

ing of inferences for the benefit of others? Are men to be unchristianized because in things non-essential they do not conform to the notions of some? Are we to anathematize those who will not be convinced by our syllogisms? Are we to excommunicate those whose ideal of Christian life or estimate of Christian truth does not correspond to ours? We make huge mistakes here. Episcopalianism, Independency, Methodism, and Teetotalism are not the essentials of a true Christianity: a correct creed, a high culture—"sweetness and light," ritualistic gorgeousness, and rationalistic simplicity are not the essentials of a true Christianity: obedience to any one conscience, subscription to any one of the many creeds of Christendom, and adherence to any one of the Churches of Christendom are not the essentials of a true Christianity. The essentials are "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." If, as a Christian people, we could fix our minds more on essentials, and less on the thousand and one doubtful things which are constantly arising in our nineteenth century civilization to trouble those willing to be troubled, the comprehensive law to which we have drawn the attention of our readers would never be violated. Christianity is pre-eminently a *life*; and we might as well try to bend and subdue the varied life of forest, field, and flower, till it expresses the orthodox artistic ideal, as expect to mould and fashion the varied life of a true Christianity in man till it expresses or represents the ideal of our particular creed. If each man is seeking in God's name and for God's sake to do right, and if in all his relations with God he is at peace,—no war of conscience, no fear of punishment, but hope of mercy and eternal life, and if, in consequence, he has joy in the Holy Ghost; let every one rejoice and be glad, believing that so the Kingdom of God comes on the earth.

H.

ART. II.—GEORGE FOX AND THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Journal of George Fox; 2 vols. London: W. and G. G. Cash, 1852.

An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people, in scorn, called Quakers. By ROBERT BARCLAY. Tenth edition. London: Harvey and Darton, 1841.

The Quakers, from their origin to the present time: an International History. By JOHN CUNNINGHAM, D.D., author of "The Church History of Scotland." London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1868.

George Fox, the Friends, and the early Baptists. By WILLIAM TALLACK, author of "Friendly Sketches in America," &c. London: S. W. Partridge and Co., 1868.

Quakerism, Past and Present: being an inquiry into the causes of its decline in Great Britain and Ireland. By JOHN STEPHENSON ROWNTREE. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1859.

THE Society of Friends dates its rise from 1647, George Fox being then but twenty-three years old. He has been called "the last of the Reformers," with what truth we shall leave to the decision of our readers, merely remarking that it was not till he had passed through those severe soul-conflicts which seem to be the common lot of Reformers (Martin Luther and Ignatius Loyola instantly occurring to us as instances, and from which the Great Teacher Himself was not exempt,) that he entered upon his great life-work. Born of pious parents, in the quiet village of Drayton, in Leicestershire, he was distinguished in his childhood principally by "a gravity and stayedness of mind" which led the village wiseacres to prognosticate his vocation to be the priesthood. To their utter confusion, his father apprenticed him to a shoemaker. But this worthy son of St. Crispin dealt also in cattle and wool, and it was in tending the flocks that George found more congenial occupation, an occupation upon which some of his biographers love to dwell as foreshadowing his future destiny. When about nineteen, his natural moodiness deepened into a morbid religious melancholy, and, throwing up his business, he wandered from

place to place, visiting the little knots of Puritan professors spread over the country, seeking rest and finding none. Returning home, some among his friends advised the excitement of camp life as a likely cure for his melancholy, while the more peacefully inclined wisely recommended him a wife. George would hear of neither. In his distress he sought the clergy, but never surely was poor mortal so unfortunate in his spiritual advisers. Blind leaders of the blind were the clergy of those days. In the parson of his own parish he at first had hope, but finding his week-day conversations again served up as Sunday homilies, and relishing being preached *at* as people generally do, he adopted the usual course and went no more. A second to whom he went gave him the very comfortable advice to take tobacco and sing psalms.* "Alas," says George, "tobacco was a thing I did not love, and psalms I was not in a state to sing."† A third thought the letting of blood might meet his case. "But not one drop of blood could they get from me (though they endeavoured it) my body being as it were dried up with sorrow." He next betook himself to a D.D., but as he was also a zealous florist, George got soundly rated, and summarily dismissed for having, in his abstraction, trampled upon his flower-beds. Seven miles he walked to speak with one having a great reputation for soul-experiences, but he found him but too much like the rest, "an empty, hollow cask." Miserable comforters were they all.

Ruminating gloomily upon his repeated disappointments he began to entertain hard thoughts of the "priests." He saw clearly that a university training did not make a man a minister of God. The thought seems to have flashed upon him with all the vividness of a revelation. It was such! God had "opened" it to him! Then came other "openings." "God the Creator of the world did not dwell in temples made with hands: 'steeple-houses' were but stone and mortar, and not 'holy places,' nor was the ground on which they stood 'holy:' God dwelt in the hearts of His people." Here was the germ of his future faith and teaching. Henceforth "priests" and "steeple-houses" are among his pet aversions. "As I had forsaken the priests, so I left the separate teachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw that there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. When all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I

* Carlyle says, "Drink beer and dance with the girls," but of this we find no mention in the biographies we have seen.—Sartor Resartus, Book Third, chap. i.

† The quotations are from his own Journal.

had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could I tell what to do, then, oh, then, I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition;' and when I heard it, my heart did leap for joy." The great crisis of his life was passed. The "hollow trees" and "desolate places" he had so long frequented, with his Bible as his sole companion, no longer possessed the attraction they had for him in the long night of his sorrow, for the morning had broken, and with it came a "joy" for which he "could weep day and night." It had long been a matter of serious perplexity to him that his sufferings should have been so severe and so protracted, seeing he had escaped the pollutions of the world, and had lived from childhood "in honesty and innocency." Now he saw it all. "I cried to the Lord, 'Why should I be thus, seeing I never was addicted to commit those evils?' and the Lord answered 'That it was needful I should have a sense of all conditions, else how should I speak to all conditions?'"

But for this, his future work, he is to be further qualified by a series of revelations. First came this one, "That Christ is the true light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world." Not much of a 'revelation,' one would think, seeing it were so easy to lay one's finger on a much more probable source of illumination. But just as Antoinette Bourignon declared she knew a great part of the Old Testament without ever having read it, so Fox protested that he had it by direct revelation, although he afterwards found it in the Bible. "These things I did not see by the help of man, nor by the letter, though they are written in the letter; but I saw them in the light of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by His immediate Spirit and power, as did the holy men of God, by whom the Scriptures were written. Yet I had no slight esteem of the Holy Scriptures; they were very precious to me, for I was in that spirit by which they were given forth; and what the Lord opened to me I afterwards found was agreeable to them."

Mohammed never wanted a revelation but it came. In this particular Fox was not a whit behind him: the number of the "openings" being equalled only by their strangeness and variety. He "knew not only a renewing of the heart," but began at one time to debate whether he should not "practise physic for the benefit of mankind, for," says he, "the Lord opened to me three things, relating to those three great professions in the world, physic, divinity (so-called) and law;" the "three things" being, that those engaged in those professions were all "out of the truth." "Moreover when the Lord sent me into the world He forbade me to put off my hat to any,

high or low, and I was required to *thee* and *thou* all men and women, without respect to rich or poor, great or small. And as I travelled up and down I was not to bid people *good morrow* or *good evening*, neither was I to bow or scrape with my leg to any one."

Blessed with instructions so full and particular, and being "commanded," as he tells us, "to turn people to the inward light, spirit, and grace, by which all might know their salvation and their way to God, even that Divine Spirit which would lead them into all truth, and which I infallibly knew would never deceive any," equipped in leather breeches, coat of sober grey with ochimy buttons, and steeple-crowned immoveable hat, he passed through the length and breadth of the land, preaching everywhere the all-sufficiency of the inward light, and the sinlessness of the converted man, hundreds flocking to his standard, and welcoming him as a prophet divinely inspired.

The Friends (originally known as "Children," or "Professors of the Light,")* were first called Quakers at Derby. Fox being moved to address a large religious meeting in the Church, was at once arrested and carried before Mr. Justice Bennett, who committed him to the House of Correction for six months. Fox having, during the mockery of a trial, answered his insolence and intolerance by calling upon him to 'quake' at the word of the Lord, the unjust judge in retort fastened upon him the name which has stuck to the Society to this day, the common people eagerly taking it up from the fact that some of them were given to shake with excitement when preaching or in prayer.

But though in prison he is not idle. With whatever other faults he may be chargeable, this at all events is no trait of his character. Though possessed of but the most meagre education being barely able to write legibly, and grandly ignorant of all grammatical rules, he beguiles the lonely hours of his confinement by inditing letters to the clergy, the justices, and to all, in authority, exhorting them to faithfulness in the discharge of the duties of their respective offices. In this practice he indulged largely all through life, in after days flying at higher game, admonishing all the kings and rulers of Europe, and even the Pope, that the day of the Lord was at hand. His zeal was

* They have frequently been confounded with the "Seekers," afterwards called "Ranters," but this is a mistake, and one which has been repeatedly pointed out; we are sorry, therefore, to find so generally reliable an authority as Haydn perpetuating the error, as is done in the last edition (13th), 1868.

unbounded, his enthusiasm contagious, and, as was natural enough in an age itching for religious novelties, his converts were many.

The rapid growth of Quakerism is not the least noticeable of its features. The quiet unobtrusive Friends of these days give us little idea of what they were on their first rise. With a fervour and a missionary spirit akin to that of the first emissaries of the cross, they "went everywhere preaching the Word." The knowledge that bonds and imprisonments awaited them, daunted them not in the least, whilst martyrdom would seem not to have been destitute of some charm for them. In 1654 we find them perambulating Ireland and Scotland, arousing the ire of the covenanting Scots not a little by their unconcealed contempt for the orthodoxy of the Kirk.* A few years later, Quakerism cropped up in Holland, the Dutch Quakers surpassing the English by printing their books without a single capital letter, arguing that such distinctions in men's names were as bad as had-honor. The Burgomasters shewed their opinion of this sort of thing by clapping a number of them into prison, while their English brethren, as the authors of the mischief, were put on board ship and sent home. They were quickly back however, and Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other places soon witnessed to the success of their preaching. On being again obliged to leave the country, Ames (formerly an officer in the army) passed into Germany, thence through Bohemia, penetrating even to Poland. In 1657, a Friend, named Robinson, had a "concern" to visit Jerusalem that he might in the very city where the Saviour died proclaim Him to be the true Light; and after having been once sent back when almost within sight of the Holy City, and after, on a second attempt, narrowly escaping death three times—once at the hands of thievish Arabs, then by being tricked into a Mosque and left there, and finally by being condemned to be burnt alive in a fire of camel's dung—he actually accomplished his purpose. At one time several of them set out to convert the Pope. At another, a young woman was charged with a message for the Sultan, which, after a similar experience to Robinson's, she positively delivered, meeting with the utmost courtesy from Mohammed and his court. In 1658, two women, whose divine "drawings" overcame all conjugal and parental instincts, started for Alexandria, that they might in the city where Neo-Platonism had been so eloquently taught by

*When, three years later, George Fox visited the Highlands, "the dark carnal people" received him with pitchforks, which induced him quickly to recross the border.

Hypatia twelve hundred years before, promulgate their Neo-Christianity, and, if need be, die for their mystic faith, as she had. They got as far as Malta, where they were treated to a four years' confinement in the prison of the Inquisition, and then sent home. In 1656, they appeared in the Colony of New England. But the women being suspected of being witches, and the men being branded as blasphemers, they were shipped back to England and the captains of vessels forbidden to bring more. It was all in vain. They were imprisoned, they were scourged, had their ears cropped, were hanged. Still they came, to bear witness, as they said, against the bloody law by which their brethren had suffered. In 1672, Fox himself sailed far Barbadoes, thence to Jamaica, Maryland, New England, Virginia, and Carolina, proclaiming the doctrine of the inward light not only to the colonists in the towns, but to the Red Indians in their wigwams. Five years later he started in company with Barclay, Penn, and Keith, for the Continent. At Leyden, Rotterdam, Haarlem, and Amsterdam, they were welcomed by disciples who listened to them as oracles, and their meetings were crowded by the rich and noble. They were greatly ambitious during this tour to have secured the adherence of the Princess Elizabeth of the Palatinate,* but in this they were disappointed, although she expressed much sympathy with them, and admitted them to correspondence and interviews.

They are as remarkable for what they suffered as for what they did. Besse's "Sufferings of the Quakers" is without its equal. George Fox was as familiar with the interior of the prisons in many parts of the country as he was of the meeting-houses in the same localities. The prisons in many parts of England were often crowded with them, and the celebrated "hole" in Newgate was the death of not a few. Seven hundred gained their liberty on the accession of Charles II. A most singular circumstance it may seem, that, under the rule of the large-hearted, liberal-minded Protector—whose letters, penned by his immortal secretary, caused continental persecutors of the Reformed Faith to tremble and desist,—so many should suffer imprisonment, to be released on the accession of one who presents the greatest contrast, perhaps, that our history furnishes. It must be remembered, however, that while it was principally "for conscience sake" they suffered, their conscientiousness was apt to exhibit itself in such very

* This royal lady was daughter of Frederick, king of Bohemia, and Prince Palatine of the Rhine; and sister of Sophia, the Duchess of Hanover, the progenitrix of the present reigning family.

peculiar and troublesome ways, that even Cromwell himself, notwithstanding his friendly liking for George Fox, and his earnest desire to afford liberty of conscience to all, was oftentimes unable to deliver them from the consequences of their folly. He did much for them, but to have granted them total exemption from all pains and penalties would have necessitated Parliamentary Reforms, which have been but partially secured in our own day, and only then after repeated struggles. The liberty they enjoyed at the Restoration, too, was very temporary—but the ominous lull before the bursting of a storm such as they had not yet known. The men into whose hands the power now fell were not such as were likely to show "the canting hypocrites," as they contemptuously called them, much favour. It being well known that they firmly refused to take oaths of any kind, they were everywhere plied with the Oath of Allegiance, and for declining to take it were thrown into prison. As many more, probably, suffered for refusing to pay tithes, while their numbers were further swelled by those who, whilst at liberty, had continued faithfully to witness against the abounding vice and immorality of the times. So that when, in 1662, the odious Act of Uniformity was passed, resulting in the ejectment of the two thousand, there lay of Quakers in the different jails of England, no less than four thousand two hundred, or, as some say, five thousand. And it should be borne in mind that prisons were not then what they have been since the days of John Howard and Elizabeth Fry, and that in these days of palace prisons it is next to impossible to conceive what they then were. What Fox says of that at Carlisle he says of others—"A filthy, nasty, place it was, where men and women were put together in a very uncivil manner, and never a house of office to it, and the prisoners so lousy that one woman was almost eaten to death with lice."

With such faith in what they apprehended to be the truth, such dogged perseverance in propagating it, and such power and willingness to endure for its sake, it is not to be wondered at that Quakerism should have made such rapid progress.*

The year 1667 witnessed the adherence to the new faith of two of its brightest ornaments. Hitherto Fox had drawn chiefly from the humbler classes, but he was now joined by two men who brought with them the advantages of education and social position—advantages of which Fox was not slow to avail himself. The first of these was Robert Barclay,

* From the numbers which signed petitions to parliament in 1659, it has been calculated that there must have been 30,000 Quakers in England.

whose unmatched, and hitherto unanswered, defence of Quakerism we have placed at the head of these pages. Born in Edinburgh in 1648, he was educated at the Scots' College in Paris (his uncle being principal), and by the careful cultivation of his naturally good parts soon attained proficiency. At the expense, alas! of his principles, for he was seduced into becoming a Papist. Pained at the intelligence, his father—who in the meantime had embraced the tenets of Fox—had him immediately sent home, and so plied him with argument and entreaty as to induce him to renounce the Church of Rome, and throw in his lot with (to use his own quaint words) "the people in scorn called Quakers." The other illustrious convert was William Penn, the most widely known and universally respected, perhaps, of all the despised faith, and through whom the Quakers became the founders of a great state in the New World. He was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn, one of those brave old seamen who contributed not a little to secure the naval supremacy of England. At the age of fifteen he was entered a gentleman commoner at Christ Church, Oxford. During the disputes engendered by the changes in the University, consequent upon those in the State, he heard Thomas Loe preach in the city, and was so far impressed as to give up regular worship in the college, and to hold private meetings with other youths similarly inclined; for which exhibition of nonconformity he and his friends were fined. When, shortly after, the order came down that the surplice was to be worn, according to ancient custom, not only did he and his associates refuse to comply, but subjected themselves to expulsion for having, in an excess of zeal, set upon and stripped some of those who had complied. Grieved and exasperated beyond measure, his father sent him to travel, and apparently with the desired result, but coming to Ireland, where Loe happened to be at the time, he again heard him, had all his previous impressions revived, and whilst attending one of his meetings was, with others, arrested and hurried off to prison. Through the friendly offices of the Earl of Ossory he was soon released, but as he continued steadfast in his adherence to the scorned Quakers, the choloric old admiral thrashed him and turned him out of doors. Thrown into closer contact with them than ever, he published in their defence his "Sandy Foundation Shaken," for which he was clapped into the Tower. "The worst argument in the world," he told Stillingfleet, who visited him. After seven months' confinement he was released at the instance of the Duke of York, to whose care he was commended by his father as he lay a dying—a duty which he faithfully discharged.

During one of his early itinerancies, Fox preached at Ulverstone, on which occasion Margaret Fell, the wife of Judge Fell, of Swarthmoor Hall,* embraced his teaching, with all her house, for a number of years holding meetings regularly at the hall, though the Judge himself remained faithful to the Church of England to the last. At the elapse of some eleven years after his death, George "had seen from the Lord for some time that he was to take Margaret to wife," and as Margaret was similarly illuminated, they pledged their troth, each to the other, before the meeting at Broadmead, Bristol (1669). But this simple circumstance was not to interfere with the ministry of either the one or the other; and so, after enjoying each other's society for a whole fortnight, they both resumed their labours as the light within directed, shortly to find themselves imprisoned in different parts of the country.

But two of the twenty-one years of his married life did Fox spend with his wife at Swarthmoor, and then principally for the recruiting of his health, his whole time being spent in itinerating the country, preaching, and regulating the already established meetings. For, notwithstanding the assurance that "Such as are under the New Covenant need no man to teach them,"† because of the infallibility of the inward light, there were, very early, those who required Fox's assistance to interpret it aright, laying him under the obligation before long of framing some very carnal rules (now extending to 240 closely printed pages) and of requiring strict observance of them. Mr. Tallack has pointed out the very close resemblance every part of his polity bears to that of the early Baptists, (the likeness extending even to peculiarities) and accounts for it from the fact of his intimate association with that body in his youth—most of his early adherents having been Baptists. Fox, himself, acknowledges no such mundane source: every part of his system he "saw from the Lord." The following concise description of it we quote from the religious census of 1851.—p. 65.

"The whole community of Friends is modelled somewhat on the Presbyterian system. Three gradations of meetings or synods—monthly, quarterly, and yearly—administer the affairs of the society, including in their supervision matters both of spiritual discipline and secular policy. The monthly meetings, composed of all the congregations within a definite circuit, judge of the fitness of new candidates for membership, supply certificates to such as move to other districts,

* See an interesting little work, "The Fells of Swarthmoor." London: S. W. Partridge.

† Barclay Prop., iii., sec. 5, p. 78.

choose fit persons to be elders to watch over the ministry, attempt the reformation or pronounce the expulsion of all such as walk disorderly, and generally seek to stimulate the members to religious duty. They also make provision for the poor of the society* and secure the education of their children. Overseers are also appointed to assist in the promotion of these objects. At monthly meetings, also, marriages are sanctioned previous to their solemnization at a meeting for worship. Several monthly meetings compose a quarterly meeting, to which they forward general reports of their condition, and at which appeals are heard from their decisions. The yearly meeting holds the same relative position to the quarterly meetings that the latter do to the monthly meetings, and has the general superintendence of the society in a particular country." †

For their *principles*,—

"They repudiate (as a body, and on scriptural grounds) the lawfulness of war, state churches, slavery, oaths, and capital punishment. They also differ in some other respects from most of their fellow Christians, as for instance in the non-payment of preachers, the absence of collegiate or special training for ministerial service, the permission of public religious instruction by women,‡ and the restriction of the nature of sacraments to a spiritual and invisible union with the Lord." §

They, further, acknowledge Christ as the alone Head of the Church, recognise in bishop, archbishop, king, or queen, the investiture of no more religious authority than is possessed by the humblest Christian in the land, and therefore, respectfully ignore any proclamation of royalty or of the privy council ordering national prayer and thanksgiving.

It is by no means so easy to state what are the *doctrines* of Friends, owing to the fact that they have never (as a body) acknowledged any strictly defined creed. The two doctrines of the inward light and the sinless life seem to have been the only settled Articles of Belief with Fox himself, when first he started on his mission. We cannot but think, therefore, that his early utterances must have been marked by a glorious uncertainty, and most fully do we coincide with Dr. Cunningham when he says,—"One is tempted to think that Fox himself must have been somewhat amazed when he found his

* A special feature of the society; and one which is too much overlooked by other churches. Every Friend unable to earn a livelihood, receives from £20 to £40 a year; his children (if any) being well educated in addition. It is possible, however, that they may have received their full share of credit for this, as they are particularly cautious in receiving members.

† But, virtually, the executive power rests with the monthly meeting.

‡ Their women preachers have for a long time exceeded the men in number, and, with a few notable exceptions, in ability also.

§ Tallack's "George Fox, &c.," p. 3.

unlettered theology arrayed in the classic and patristic garments with which Barclay has invested it."*

Their primary ground of union was "agreement of sentiment in regard to Christ's inward teaching."† For the rest, they might believe pretty much what they liked—which for the most part they did, and do still. Nevertheless, they have always held with more or less tenacity to the views of their founder; and Barclay's Apology has been their text-book so far as they have had one. As it is impossible within the limits of this article even to summarise with justice the fifteen Propositions in which Barclay presents the Quaker faith, we shall briefly indicate the more salient points on which it differs from that of Evangelical Churches generally.

1. The terms "Trinity" and "Tri-personality" the Friends expressly discard, preferring as safer the very meagre definition of the Godhead given by Penn.‡ "We agree with other professors of the Christian name in the belief in One Eternal God, the Creator and Preserver of the Universe; and in Jesus Christ His Son, the Messiah and Mediator of the New Covenant." 2. Imputed guilt, and imputed righteousness are, equally, mere theological fictions. 3. "There is an evangelical and saving light in all," attention to which produces a holy, pure, and spiritual birth. 4. "Justification is both more properly and frequently in Scripture taken in its proper signification, for making one just, and not reputing one merely, and is all one with sanctification." 5. "Those who are fully, regenerated are free from sin, and in that respect perfect, "As Adam was before the fall," says Fox. 6. It is possible for those who have made some progress in the divine life to fall away; but there may be such perfection as that total apostacy is impossible.

But the stem-doctrine of the system—that which was among the first revealed to Fox, and to which he always gave great prominence—is that of the inward light. This is "as the corner-stone of their fabric; and, indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their chief characteristic or main distinguishing point or principle, viz., the Light of Christ within, as God's gift for man's salvation. This, I say, is the root of that goodly tree of doctrine that grew and branched out of it." §

* P. 90.

† Preface to third edition of "Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends."

‡ Quoted in Encyclopœdia Britannica, article "Quakers," attributed to William Howitt.

§ Penn's Introduction to Fox's Journal, p. 11.

To furnish a definition of this mystic doctrine which shall be at once simple and sufficient is a work of no little difficulty, there being the utmost confusion in its statement by the different writers, and by the same writers at different times. Penn, for instance, says, "There is no essential difference between the Seed, Light, Word, Spirit, Life, Truth, Power, Unction, Bread, Water, Flesh, and Blood, only so denominated from the various manifestations, operations, and effects of the *same Divine principle in man.*"* Again he says, the "Eternal Word," the "Divine Light," the "Holy Spirit," is no other than the "Divine Mind" of Anaxagoras, the "Good Spirit" of Socrates, the "God in man," of Hiero, the "Eternal Principle of Faith" of Plato, the "Root of the Soul" of Plotinus, the "Inner Guide" of Plutarch, so that these heathen philosophers knew and were partakers of the Gospel Logos.† Elisha Bates in his "Doctrines of the Friends" (an accepted exposition) uses almost the same words; and Hicks, and Bancroft the historian, have since identified the divine light with the intuitions and *a priori* conceptions of modern philosophy.

"It is the light of nature, which you thus mistake for the light of Christ," said Comwell to Fox on one occasion. "Nay," said Fox, "it is spiritual and divine, and proceeds from Christ, the Spiritual and Divine Man." Barclay takes precisely the same ground as Fox, repudiating "the exaltation of the light of nature, or the faculty of the natural man." His second proposition, which relates exclusively to this strange doctrine, Dr. Cunningham has, with as much perspicacity and precision as it admits of, summarized thus:—

"It is *only* by the Spirit that the true knowledge of God can be revealed: by Him it was revealed to the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, and by Him it is in the same way revealed still. This divine inward revelation is not contrary to Scripture or reason; but neither is it to be tried by Scripture or reason; for it has a self-evidencing power, and inclines the mind to assent to it as to the natural truth, that the whole is greater than the part."—p. 90.

In support of his position Barclay proceeds to quote from Augustine, Clemens Alexandrinus, Tertullian, Hiero, Gregory, Cyrillus Alexandrinus, Bernard, Luther, and Melancthon. But these quotations, whilst doing great credit to his immense research, utterly fail to convince us either of the truth of the doctrine, or that the several writers themselves held it. We suspect his interpretation of their meaning to be about as

* "Christian Quaker," vol. I. p. 527.
† See the end of his "Advice to Children."

correct as his interpretations of Scripture generally are, as for instance, when he says that those who refer them "to the law and to the testimony," meaning thereby the Scriptures, do surely beg the question: why may not the inward light be there meant?

It cannot be matter of surprise that this their "fundamental principle," should have proved a prolific source of distracting error, and of bitter controversy, as (interpret how we will) it cannot fail to be where strenuously held, and surely "fundamental principles" should be held no otherwise. It leaves us in doubt, for instance, on a point of vital importance to every Christian community, viz., *the rule of faith.* What is this—the Bible or the inward light? With this solitary exception, we believe all Protestant churches adhere steadily to "*the Bible and the Bible alone.*" From this more spiritual community we get but an uncertain sound. Very early in his ministry George Fox stalked, hat-on-head, into the "steeple-house" at Nottingham, as the clergyman gave out for his text, "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star arise in your hearts." He told the people that by the Scriptures here referred to, they were to try all doctrines. "Now," says Fox, "the Lord's power was so mighty upon me, and so strong in me that I could not hold, but was made to cry out 'Oh no, it is not the Scriptures, but the Holy Spirit, which gave the Scriptures, by which opinions are to be tried. The Jews had the Scriptures, yet resisted the Holy Ghost, and rejected Christ, the Morning Star.' By so much as the giver is worthy of more honor than the gift, by so much is the inward WORD superior to the outward and written *Words.* Barclay is equally explicit in denying them the highest place as a rule of practice.

"That which is given to *Christians* for a rule and guide must needs be so full that it may clearly and distinctly guide and order them in all things and occurrences that may fall out.

"But in that there are numberless things, with regard to their circumstances, which particular Christians may be concerned in, for which there can be no particular rule had in Scripture:

"Therefore the Scriptures cannot be a rule to them."* Unambigious as all this appears, Friends have, nevertheless, professed themselves pained and wronged by the charge of depreciating the Scriptures, and have repeatedly sought to repel the

* Prop. iii., Sec. 1, p. 69.

charge. They remind us that Fox (and others of the first preachers) always carried a Bible; that in his Journal alone he quotes from no less than two hundred and forty different chapters; and that in the meeting-house at Swarthmoor, which he presented to the Society, he caused a Bible to be chained to the preachers' gallery for reference; and Gerard Croese has said "that though the Bible were lost, it might be found in the mouth of George Fox." Returning to Barclay, we find him as concerned to rebut the charge as any of them. "For in that we affirm of them," he says, "it doth appear at what high rate we value them, accounting them, without all deceit or equivocation, the most excellent writings in the world."* And he further admits, "*that the Scriptures give a full and ample testimony to all the principal doctrines of the Christian faith,*" and "*that whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the Scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil.*"† What are we to make of all this?‡ The inward revelation is superior to the outward and written word; is not therefore to be tried by it; yet there is no subordination of Scripture! The illumination is immediate, Divine, infallible; does not therefore need to be tried by the written Word; yet, it may prove contrary to that Word, and then is to be reckoned a delusion of the devil! "How can these things be!" For ourselves we must be content to leave them, only wondering that, being conscious of the questionableness (to say the least of it) of their position, and, seeing that it has embroiled them in frequent controversy and division, whereby they have sustained loss, they should not cease to hold so tenaciously to "the traditions of the elders," and, at once, free themselves from the well-warranted charge of inconsistency, and from the weakness consequent thereupon, by adopting the generally-accepted, common-sense, and (as we believe) Scriptural view, that the Spirit teaches *through* the Scriptures. It would simply be bringing their creed into

* Prop. III., sect. 1., p. 63. This quotation is a little curious, as going to show how possible it is to write equivocally even when disavowing equivocation.

† Prop. III., secs. 6 and 9, pp. 80, 85. The italics are his own.

‡ Since writing the above we have received a pamphlet by J. B. (a Friend) entitled "Ritualism or Quakerism," in which we read, "What is absolutely true will bear pushing to extremes, and is always *self-consistent*. What is not absolutely true, but partly true and partly false (as most false doctrine is), will not bear carrying to extremes, without involving difficulties and contradictions. A false system, therefore, may be known by its not being consistent with itself, and by its attempting to hedge itself about with artificial barriers, beyond which enquiry respecting it must not be pushed."—pp. 6 and 7.

harmony with their custom, their constant appeal in debate being to Scripture, by whose authority all differences of opinion are settled. It would, however, on the other hand, be to yield their acknowledged "fundamental principle," that which was "their primary ground of union," the abandonment of which would, in effect, be the dissolution of the Society; and so, we suppose they will still hold to it, notwithstanding the extravagances to which it has given rise, and which have brought upon them great reproach; notwithstanding also that the existence of the written Word, its direct teaching, their very polity, and their habitual practice all witness against them.

"All true and acceptable worship comes from the inward and immediate movement of the Holy Spirit."* Under this head are included, Psalmody, Silent Worship, and the Sabbath. Those Churches which have made the greatest innovations upon the kingdom of darkness (Methodist Churches in particular), have always attributed much of their success to the winning power of sacred song. The Friends, on the contrary, hold it to be highly reprehensible when indulged in by an indiscriminate multitude. The "singings and soundings," of worldly professors their souls abhor. From these things Fox was "to bring them off." Worship of any kind, indeed, that a man sets about of his own will, that he may do, or leave undone, as himself sees fit, is nothing but "superstition, will-worship, and abominable idolatry," which, while winked at in times of ignorance, is now to be separated from, as from that which is unclean, "in this day of his spiritual arising." And so it comes to pass that they are frequently silent. And "silence," says Barclay, "is and must necessarily be a special and principal part of God's worship." As is manifest, such teaching cannot but land them in the most absurd positions. Supposing that they strictly adhered to their principles Friends themselves must often have been struck with the simultaneousness and frequency with which they find themselves "of one accord in one place!" For consistency would, of course, require them to go further and renounce human ministrations, and human arrangements altogether. Here, however, their theory breaks down, and Barclay himself confesses "that *some* human arrangements are *necessary* for the due observance of public worship:" so that after all it is more a question of degree than of principle. Upon quiet waiting upon God, under certain circumstances, we set far too high a

* Barclay Prop. xi., as summarized by Dr. Cunningham.

value to object a word. Nay, much as we delight in the service of song, we could wish that sometimes "praise" should "sit silent on our tongues," if only we might enjoy, as we have sometimes done, the

> "Solemn awe that dare not move
> And all the silent heaven of love."

We further think it quite possible that while the much-boasted activity of the Churches at the present day does not at all exceed the limits of its requirement, the results would in many cases be much more satisfactory were the workers more frequently to "centre down within themselves" with a view to the renewing of their strength. Whether, however, it is wise to give such prominence to silent worship in public, is more than questionable, while it seems a strange infatuation to insist upon it as "*necessarily* a *special* and *principal* part of God's worship." Many of the Friends themselves have long stood in doubt of it.* Elizabeth Fry did not hesitate to declare against it as unsuitable for unregenerate and young persons; and Mr. Rowntree places it among the causes which have conduced to the decline of Quakerism.

On the subject of the Sabbath (First-day) the modern Friends have somewhat retrograded from the position assumed by their founders. Believing in the total abolition of everything legal and ceremonial, and seeking to deliver the people from subserviency to the letter of the word, in order to a fuller enjoyment of the liberty of its spirit, Fox could not accept as binding, either the Jewish Sabbath or the Christian Lord's Day; and, in a bold and liberal spirit, enters his protest against the legal enforcement of the latter. "Where do you read that ever the Turks forced any Christians to observe any of their holidays, fasts, or feasts? If not, should not Christians be beyond the Turks in giving liberty to all tender consciences to serve God, seeing that Christ and the Apostles command not, nor force people to observe holidays? &c." Here, again, Barclay follows in the same wake, and believes, with Calvin, that it has "a more spiritual sense." And what is this "more spiritual sense?" "It was given to the Jews," says Fox, speaking of what he believes to be its original institution," as a sign of Christ the eternal rest." This, however, is a view which has not obtained largely among Friends (the Hicksites excepted); the efforts which have been made to resuscitate Fox's

* See also a very significant article in the *Friend* of seventh month p. 162.

idea,* too, have been but partially successful, the majority believing in "a perpetual decree" "*that every six days of labour* shall be succeeded by *a seventh day of rest.*"†

As we have already hinted, and as may well be supposed, the peculiar doctrines of the Friends have not gone unchallenged. Vigorous denunciation from without they have had to encounter from the first, but that were a light matter compared with the severe criticism they have received from within. Decidedly the worst foes of Quakerism have been those of her own household. Controversies generally are ascribed to the hard and fast line which most churches insist on drawing about their creed. Strange, therefore, that a people acknowledging no creed should be equally embroiled with others! Such, nevertheless, is the fact. They present us with the strangely anomalous and significant sight of a church without a creed, every member of which, too, is divinely illuminated, fighting about forms of faith.‡ Their principal controversies, those which have issued in division, are three, known respectively, as the "Keithite," the "Hicksite," and the "Beaconite," controversies. George Keith, the author of the first of these, was the personal friend, and zealous coadjutor of Fox, Barclay, and Penn: an able man, and one who, though somewhat changeable, had, in his time, rendered valuable service to the cause. Many of the English Friends have from the first evinced a stronger leaning towards more evangelical views than their American brethren, and than those we have presented above. Though unconscious probably of the extent to which he had done so, Keith himself, must nevertheless have trended considerably in that direction, or otherwise have been strangely ignorant of Quaker doctrine and its logical sequences, for, when in Pennsylvania some time after Fox's death, he came in direct collision with the Friends there, charging them with teaching that the light within was sufficient for salvation, and even with reducing the Gospel narrative of the life, sufferings, and death of Christ into a mere figurative or pictorial representation of the experience and duties of the Christian—they on their part retorting that as he insisted on faith in the inward Christ, and in the historical Christ, he must believe in two Christs. After exciting much wrath and bitterness in America, he brought the matter for discussion before the London Yearly Meeting of 1694, adding to his former charges

* See "The Christian Sabbath; or Rest in Jesus." Trübner and Co.
† "The Sabbath," by Joseph John Gurney. p. 20.
‡ We have a repetition of the same thing in the Plymouth Brethren, and to a much worse extent.

their denial of the resurrection of the dead. Being at that time one of the foremost leaders of the society, and being without his match in debate, and as there was now no George Fox to heal the breach, it was declared unhealable, and Keith, with a goodly number of adherents, seceded. For some time he held separate meetings, and with great success, but afterwards, wearying of his isolation, he took orders in the Church of England, and became the first missionary sent out by the then newly-formed S.P.G.

The Hicksite division, which occurred about 1827, was a much more serious affair, though confined almost exclusively to America, its influence in England being considerably weakened from the fact that the English Friends had already passed the crisis, a disastrous schism on like grounds having occurred in Ireland (and extending to England) some thirty years previously. Elias Hicks was an American preacher of considerable eloquence and influence, who for twenty years before the disruption had been maturing his opinions, preaching them with increasing confidence and power as conviction became more strong. His teachings were but a fuller development of those which had occasioned the previous rupture—the undue exaltation of the inward light, the consequent subordination of Scripture, the denial of Christ's atoning work, and of His oneness with the Father. Although in propagating these "damnable heresies" he claimed to be but faithfully expounding and amplifying the tenets of the founders of Quakerism (and not without fair show of truth) his claim was by no means allowed, and he at length openly seceded, carrying with him, as his party alleges, fully one half of the American societies, and as the orthodox themselves allow, one third.

Fox and his coadjutors were no Deists; whenever he encountered them Fox gave them no quarter, but tells, with evident self-satisfaction, how the force of his arguments struck them dumb. Yet singularly enough, their dissensions have arisen mainly upon this point: nor can it be denied that (however innocent they may have been of any such intention) their writings have a strong Deistical bias, or that Deism is not the logical landing place of their stem-doctrine. It must further be confessed that the importance of the previous unhappy controversies had been but imperfectly apprehended, and had yielded little beneficial result, if they had not brought this home to every Friend. Yet, such was the traditional reverence entertained by them for the founders of their body, that when in 1836, Isaac Crewdson, of Manchester (a man greatly beloved and loving his church), pointed this out in a little work

entitled the "Beacon," raising as his beacon-cry, "to the law and to the testimony," or "Holy Scripture the alone standard of religious truth," such was the hubbub raised about it as to cause him, and those who thought with him (numbering several hundreds), to leave the society. It has since been acknowledged that some of the best blood of Lancashire Quakerism was then lost to the society, and transferred, principally, to the Church of England, and the Plymouth Brethren. Meantime those who precipitated their exclusion have come round to the same views, and are in their turn being severely tried by the active propagation of views of the same Deistical tendency as those Isaac Crewdson exposed, and which in 1868 necessitated them to take disciplinary proceedings.

For some time past the position and prospects of the society have not been at all encouraging. On the continent of Europe it has scarcely a representative left, and but few in Australasia. Even in America, where its greatest successes have been achieved, the number of Friends while *absolutely* more than in Fox's days, is *relatively* very much less. In England they have suffered marked decline. The London Yearly Meeting, acting upon the principle that numbers are no test of success, has not been in the habit of having a report of numbers presented to it, but they have for the last dozen years been vaguely stated to be 14,000 or 15,000, and more recently have been put at 14,013. A few years previous to the death of Fox they were estimated at upwards of 80,000; and at the religious census of William III. they were reported to be about equal with the Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents: facts which, when set over against those other facts, of the enormous increase of these churches, and the vast numbers in communion with the Methodist Churches, which have sprung up meantime, render it exceedingly difficult to resist the suspicion that in this rooted dislike to numbering the people there has been just a spice of ostrichian simplicity. It were impossible, however, that their continuous decrease should be concealed for ever, and so far back as 1855 we find the York Quarterly Meeting, which is the largest in the kingdom, and generally in the van in matters of reform, taking the unpalatable truth home, and acknowledging its duty to grapple with it.

"Quakerism Past and Present" is the result of prizes offered, several years later, by a gentleman connected with the Society, for essays upon the subject. Mr. Rowntree was fortunate enough to take the first prize of one hundred guineas. He writes like one personally interested, displaying a perfect

knowledge of the points involved, and as though resolved that if plain dealing will at all facilitate the cure he deems so desirable, it shall not be wanting on his part. Others of the essays were published, dealing with points of importance,* which Mr. Rowntree has passed over in silence, but we have, as it seems to us, ample grounds in this one to account for the existing state of things. Dividing Quakerism into three epochs, he recognises even in the first, extending to the death of Fox, the *seeds* of decline,—(1) In the undue prominence given to the doctrine of the inward light: inducing as it did (2) Indifference to the education of the young, under colour of honouring the Holy Spirit: and (3) Neglect of the gift of teaching in the Church: fostering also (4) The expectation on the part of ministers of extraordinary revelations, and so contributing to the decline of the ministry: (5) In the making it compulsory upon members to refuse payment of tithes, whether they had any personal scruple or not: (6) In the unattractiveness of their public worship: (7) Their disuse of symbolic rites: (8) The working of their poor system, which, while on the one hand prejudicial to the poor, on the other hand prejudices the more spirited among the working-classes: (9) Want of outlet for the activity of members within their own sphere: (10) Emigration: (11) Voluntary resignation or expulsion.†

He commences the review of the second epoch, extending from the death of Fox to the revival of the discipline in 1760, by quoting from Isaac Taylor, as follows:—

"A forty or fifty years has been the term, more or less clearly defined, within which each of those revolutions that mark the history of the human mind has had its rise, has passed its climax, and has gone forward, commingled with other moral forces, and having its own abated. . . . . Never, hitherto, has any new impulse, or any strenuous moral movement, been taken up and carried forward by the sons and successors of its originators in the same mind, or with the same, or nearly the same singleness of purpose. Great men do not repeat themselves in their immediate followers: or, if the mantle of an Elijah has in some rare instances rested upon an Elisha, yet never, hitherto, has the spirit and power of a company of distinguished persons come upon, or remained with, those who have stood up to represent them before the world."

And he finds the causes of decline during this epoch chiefly (1) In the manifest abatement of missionary zeal: (2) In com-

* See "The Decline of Quakerism," by Robert Macnair, M.A. A. W. Bennett.

† Upwards of 8,400 persons have resigned or been disowned within the present century.

mercial prosperity: and (3) in the pernicious system of birthright membership.

His third epoch, as we have already intimated, dates from the revival of the Discipline in 1760. The religious awakening of the last century, under the Wesleys and their coadjutors, was not without its influence on the Society of Friends. Even they needed it, for with all their pretensions to greater spirituality than other communions, they had not been able altogether to resist the benumbing influences of the times. But, unfortunately, their resuscitated zeal manifested itself in a way which was anything but conducive to the best interests of the society. Could those upon whom the management of affairs now principally devolved have learned a lesson from Ignatius Loyola, and have reanimated their society, as he reanimated Roman Catholicism two centuries before, by making it again aggressive, some of the singularly fatal errors into which they fell might have been avoided, and the present emasculated condition of the society prevented. The policy they adopted was the very reverse of this, a policy indicating the want of the most ordinary foresight, and than which nothing could more fully evidence the inferiority of its administrators to the men of a former time. Their "brave assault upon the world," their "crusade against its potentates to subject them, the whole nature of man, and all the nations of the earth to the Kingdom of Christ," had failed; and now "the invaders retreated within their own borders, and endeavoured painfully and fruitlessly to isolate themselves from the world they had hoped to conquer."* Their one remedy for all the ills they mourned was disownment, which they proceeded to apply in the most reckless manner. If a Friend, having no personal scruples, had paid tithes, he was disowned: if he had supplied materials of war of any kind whatever, he was disowned: if he had gone to the Parish Church to get married, he was disowned: if he had married out of the society he was disowned, even though his wife were one "in profession." And so, the heaviest penalty a church can inflict, was inflicted for the most venial derelictions of duty. Under such circumstances, what wonder that there was decline! So stringently was this short and sharp method applied, that Mr. Rowntree calculates there to have been upwards of 4,000 persons excluded for transgression of their marriage regulations alone, up to the middle of the present century. Well might John Bright describe this action as "a wonderful picture of what good men may do, acting on

* Westminster Review, 1852, p.p. 19.

mistaken notions of duty, to destroy the very structure they are most anxious to uphold."

Will Quakerism ever again attain to its former dimensions? Without presuming dogmatically to determine, we venture to think not. Societies raised up for a special purpose, naturally cease to exist when their work is done. We have heard the decline of Quakerism accounted for on this ground. But this is not the opinion of the Friends themselves; nor is it, indeed, but partially true, for they certainly have not accomplished all they attempted. But may not their work have passed into other hands, which, untrammelled by so many restrictions, and possessing facilities of adaptation to the times, and for laying hold of the masses which Quakerism never had, may be able more efficiently to carry on to its completion the work in which they originally stood alone? We incline to think that this may prove to be the real state of the case. There are few systems which have been so thoroughly moulded by the times which gave them birth, or which have seemed so much to require their stimulus in order to their continuance. Those times have passed; and notwithstanding the tendency of history to repeat itself, and notwithstanding certain premonitory signs of the return of some of the worst features of those times, the Methodist revival of the last century has so changed the aspect of affairs in other particulars as, as we believe, to render it impossible for history so thoroughly to repeat itself as to give Quakerism a chance of regaining its pristine vigour. We are not ignorant of the strenuous efforts which have been made of late years to resuscitate it. But, it is to be observed, they are not in the direction of Foxian Quakerism; quite otherwise. The Bible has been restored to its proper position, and the inner light subordinated to it, instead of *vice versa*: the mystic and exclusive features of Quakerism are giving way to others more practical and aggressive; greater prominence is being given to the leading evangelical doctrines; First-day schools, Bible classes, reading meetings, sewing schools, mothers' meetings, and various other agencies for relieving the temporal and spiritual wants of the people, are rapidly springing up, and, judging from the current numbers of the *Friend*, are exciting great interest. The Friends, too, are fast discarding their distinguishing peculiarities of speech and dress, and conforming to the practices of other churches, and, in a sense, to the world. So that it really is not Quakerism that is reviving, but a simple form of evangelical Christianity, differing little, in fact, from Plymouth Brethrenism. And suppose the causes of decline enumerated by Mr. Rowntree removed, as they are

being as fast as a people so thoroughly conservative, and having such reverence for traditional usages can suffer them to be; let them but be removed, and what is the difference between the two systems, save the name? Substantially none. And as we have now-a-days all manner of proposals for reducing the number of the sects, all sorts of schemes for amalgamating or absorbing, or what not, who can say how soon we may hear of one or the other of them making proposals of union?

We have accounted in part for the peculiar character of Quakerism from the times and circumstances in which it took its rise. A large place must also be given to these in attempting accurately to guage the character of its founder. He was in his early life undoubtedly visionary. He went as near, perhaps, as any man ever did, without actually crossing, to that line beyond which all is delirium and madness. But the most moderate men of those days would be accounted strange fanatics now. He was born into the world at one of the most remarkable periods of our history; the whole nation being in a ferment of political and religious excitement. Sects and parties multiplied with a rapidity truly amazing. Brownists, Millenarians, Antinomians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Familists, Enthusiasts, Seekers, Perfectists, Ranters, Antiscripturists, Böhmenists, and Socinians abounded everywhere, filling the country with their Babel-like wranglings, and it was impossible for one of Fox's mental mould to grow up in such an atmosphere without inhaling the contagion. But to judge of him from his early life alone would be manifestly unfair. "If we estimated Jerome of Prague by his recantation, Luther by his notions of combat with the devil, Calvin by his burning of Servetus, Knox by his zeal in the burning of cathedrals, or Wesley by his belief in omens and apparitions, what an absurd verdict should we pass upon these great men!"* Even so should we greatly err in forming our opinion of Fox from his early life alone. Between it and the latter part there is the most grateful contrast, and the more intimate our knowledge of him, the more will his sterling worth command our respect. Under a pretty thick crust of eccentricity there was a substantial layer of strong common sense, which, conjoined to a deeply pious and reverential spirit, made him, in spite of his creed, a true and exemplary Bible Christian. The speciality of his work, too, and of its requirements must not be lost sight of; nor the almost unavoidable

* Encyclopædia Britannica.

danger there is whilst combating one error, of rushing into the other extreme.

It has been no part of our plan to follow him through the whole of his life; but those of our readers who may wish for a further acquaintance with him, we must refer to his Journal. Fox is his own best biographer. Of it, Sir James Macintosh has said, it is "one of the most extraordinary and instructive narratives in the world, which no reader of competent judgment can peruse without revering the virtue of the writer." And Coleridge, according to whom Wesley was an egotistical, ambitious, domineering, vindictive man, with scarcely a redeeming feature, and who ought to have been forgotton long ago, has written in his Biographia Literaria,—"One assertion I will venture to make, as suggested by my own experience, that there exist folios on the human understanding, and the nature of man, which would have a far juster claim to their high rank and celebrity if in the whole huge volume there could be found as much fulness of heart or intellect as bursts forth in many a simple page of George Fox." It would be scarcely just to close this paper without glancing, albeit but briefly and imperfectly, at the practical aspect of Quakerism, a much more favourable one than the doctrinal. Pope might have had his eye upon the Friends when he wrote his much-quoted couplet,—

> "For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;
> His can't be wrong whose life is in the right,"

for they have certainly gone further than any other body of men to justify it. Judged by any creed, they are strangely heterodox and inconsistent; but judged by the Saviour's rule, "their fruits," they have certainly more than made good their claim to be accounted the children of our common Father. There is scarcely a philanthropic movement that can be named in which the names of Friends have not been prominent, while in many of them they have taken the initiative. George Fox was laying upon all his people whom it concerned, the duty of extending to their slaves the benefits of religion and education, and of eventually manumitting them, long before the formation of Abolitionist Societies, or even the subject had begun to occupy the public mind. He was the author, too, of the first Botanical Garden and Public Park in America, devising portions of his land in Philadelphia (the gift of William Penn) for these purposes. Joseph Lancaster and William Allen did much for the promotion of popular education and for the solution of "the religious difficulty," while the Education Act

and School Boards were yet undreamt of. The Amelioration of the Penal Code, the Improvement of Prison Discipline, Sanitary Reforms, the Peace and Temperance Questions, and philanthropic movements of all kinds stand largely indebted to them, while seasons of peculiar distress have developed their large liberality. They have, too, what we believe no other religious community has, viz., an asylum for their own insane—the "Retreat," near York, which in 1814, drew even from Sidney Smith a somewhat lengthy and eulogistic notice in the *Edinburgh Review*. In a word, discounting their early excesses, they have all along exhibited *practical* Christianity in a way equalled by few, and exceeded by none, and if only for the sake of an example the world can ill afford to spare, we could wish that they gave promise of longer continuance among us.

S. M. B.

Art. III.—THE INFLUENCE OF THE AGE ON THE CHURCHES.

We have little sympathy with the unqualified assertion of failure and deadness in the churches to which we are not unfrequently compelled to listen. Such dirge-like lamentations are not only uncalled for, but do much to create the torpor they profess to detect. They depress and dishearten, instead of supplying a stimulus to activity and zeal. There is certainly much in the religious condition of the age to excite grave solicitude, humility, and sorrow; still is there not also much that may cause us to "thank God and take courage?" Indications of active, earnest life in the Christian Church are discernible on every hand. The eager contest of religious parties which forms so prominent a feature of the age, is *itself* an evidence of vitality; and surely even conflicts and agitations in the Church are more to be desired than the death-sleep of indolent indifference. The interest of all classes is increasing about religion; a delightful contrast indeed with the torpid state of things which Wesley and Whitefield found, and which, by the divine blessing, they did so much to remedy. There

never was a time when benevolent and religious institutions received the amount of support that is now afforded them, or were worked with so much vigour. With the growing intelligence and expanding sympathies of the age, the various Christian denominations are being drawn closer together; a spirit of mutual esteem and brotherhood is gaining ground; and thus slowly but surely the time is drawing nearer when there shall be one fold as there is one Shepherd.

A superficial comparison of the present with the past is very liable to lead to erroneous conclusions, inasmuch as Christianity in its progress through the ages passes through successive phases of development. Such, at least, is the conclusion that may be deduced from the history of the Christian era. In its nature, in its spirit, the religion of Jesus is ever the same, but in its external manifestations, agencies, and modes of operation it widely varies. We may therefore miss to-day certain features of religious movement, or phases of religious life, that were prominent a century ago, but that is not necessarily an evidence of declension. Noise and stir are not always signs of strength. The greatest works are wrought in silence. The forces of nature operate in sublime quietude; noisy clatter attends the production of man's little works. And so the mightiest moral and spiritual effects are often those least ostentatious in their processes, and one element in the strength of which is the secret, mysterious manner in which they operate. These are considerations that must not be overlooked in forming a just estimate of the condition of our churches.

Still it cannot be denied that our religious organizations signally fail to meet the exigencies of the world. It cannot be denied that, even in Christian England, the churches are making little aggression on surrounding ignorance and evil. Conversions are not as numerous as births. Even in the vicinity of churches and chapels, masses of people are living in complete indifference to religious ordinances. The various sections of Methodism are lamenting a decrease in membership, and a declining interest in the more spiritual means of grace. With rapidly increasing material prosperity we fail to discover signs of corresponding spiritual growth. The vitality of the churches is depressed. From whence does that depression spring? Is there not a cause?

The aim of this paper is to inquire into one particular class of pernicious influences that retard the working of religious agencies, and enervate the spiritual life of believers, viz., the influences that flow out of the spirit of the age in which we live.

***What** is there in the spirit of the age that depresses the vitality of the Churches?*

In no preceding age has there been so much to divert the thought and energy of God's people from the proper work of the Christian Church. Never was the pressure of secular duties so intense, or the interest of political and social life so absorbing. If a man would prosper in business in these days, his physical and intellectual energies must both be in perpetual activity. If a man would maintain an intelligent acquaintance with the social and political questions of the day, he must devote no small portion of time and thought to those questions. It is almost a platitude to say that we have fallen upon most stirring and exciting times. In the sciences, in politics, in commerce, in social life, in religion there is heard the noise of restless and excited movement. Nor can the Christian be indifferent to these things. They whose hearts God has touched are, by the divine sympathies that touch awakens, impelled to take deep interest in all that affects the well-being of their fellows.

And it cannot be God's will that all His people should have a directly spiritual vocation. The system of society must in that case be brought to a dead-lock, for that system is founded upon division of labour. One man is as truly called of God to ply a humble craft as another to minister in holy things. There is therefore no inconsistency between secular pursuits and a religious life. And yet who has not felt that the pressure of worldly duties, and the absorbing interests of this present life, are apt to interfere with the cultivation of personal holiness? When "careful and troubled about many things" we are in the greatest danger of forgetting that one thing is needful.

One of the chief perils against which Christian men have to guard in this age is that of becoming so engrossed in secular affairs as to neglect, more or less, the claims of the Divine life within them.

This, then, is perhaps the chief way in which the spirit of the age depresses the vitality of the churches—*the restless activity* of the age is *unfavourable to the inner life of holiness*, whilst the real power of any church is in *exact proportion to the piety of its members.* Men are too busy to enjoy the blessedness and profit of the "still hour." They have no time for quiet meditation or thoughtful Bible-reading, and but scanty time for secret prayer. They are too seldom *alone with God.* They are too hurried to "*dwell* in the *secret place* of

the Most High." And yet the interior and most powerful springs of the hidden life of holiness are found in a region remote from human influence and interference; and they who would walk acceptably with their Maker, who would receive His secret communications and enjoy the hidden embraces of His love, must often have quiet intercourse with Him. Is not this the reason why so many professing Christians fail to reach a high standard of religious attainment? Does not this enervate and depress our churches? And, further, religion like everything else takes its colouring from the spirit of the age, and so the restless activity, the bustle and stir that characterise the present day, affect to a great extent the tone of religious sentiment and the character of Church-life. By many activity is esteemed the best evidence of piety. They look at what is done rather than at the mind of the doer. The tendency of the age is to seek everywhere for definite and tangible results, and whilst upon the whole this is a healthful tendency, yet when carried to an extreme in reference to religion, it is unquestionably pernicious. It leads to the exaltation of activity above piety. It causes the preacher to be more earnest in exhorting to church work than to the pursuit of holiness, and the hearer to care more about what he *does* than what he *is*. Zeal is not everything; activity is no substitute for holiness. There is, of course, no question that the spiritual life expresses itself in good works. They are the fruit which the life produces, but not the life itself. Very truthfully says the Dean of Norwich, "any life which is so busy as to leave no room for meditation and devout affection, any life which spends all its energies in external work, without ever rallying or recollecting itself at its source, is certainly not the life of the Spirit. Any Martha's life, cumbered about much serving, but neglectful of sitting at the feet of the Divine Master, is certainly not the life of the Spirit.* Oh, had we more of this inner life of the spirit in our churches—a life hid with Christ in God, and to be manifested when He shall appear—what augmented vitality and power would those churches exhibit!

The work of the Christian ministry in the present day, and especially in Methodism, partakes too largely of this prevailing spirit of bustle and excitement. The undue proportion of the business of the churches that devolves upon the preacher, the anxieties of a financial and governmental character under which he usually labours, and the multiplicity of his public duties, combine to render the maintenance of a high-toned

* Thoughts on Personal Religion, by Dr. Goulburn.

spirituality extremely difficult. He lives too much in public. He cannot be so frequently as he would, *alone* with his God. Busily engaged in what may be called secular scheming and planning for the Church's advantage, his thoughts are so diverted from holy contemplations that the realization of entire harmony or oneness with the Divine mind is all but impossible. And so he has ofttimes to enter the pulpit lacking that spiritual power, that elevation of thought and affection, that complete absorption in his Divine mission, which only tranquil self-collected meditation and close communion with the Unseen can produce. Could he breathe more frequently an atmosphere of calmness, of holy meditation and prayer, he would unquestionably realize more of the Divine afflatus in his ministrations.

Another feature of the spirit of the age that confessedly depresses and enfeebles the churches is the low standard of commercial integrity. We bring no railing accusation against our brethren who are engaged in commercial pursuits. Some of the most devoted and exemplary members of the Church of Christ in the present day are men upon whom a heavy pressure of business anxiety and responsibility rests. But they, themselves, mourn over the signs of the times in the world of commerce. The revelations of the Bankruptcy Court, the immense public companies that have proved to be vast systems of fraud and imposture, the monetary panics that are of such ordinary occurrence, all indicate a most unsound state of commercial morality. This lamentable state of things is strictly traceable to the greed for gold, and the fondness for luxury and display by which the age in infatuated. Our middle class families are too frequently trained in a system of luxuriousness that can only be maintained at an immense cost. And to supply this perpetual drain, rash speculations and fraudulent tricks are freely indulged in. The greed of gold is in danger of eating out the true spirit of manliness and nobility from modern society; for nothing more thoroughly perverts the principles and warps the nature than an absolute love of money; nothing keeps a man further from the kingdom of heaven than this deceitful and despicable vice. It is high time the voice of the Christian Church was plainly heard on this matter, that all Christians freed themselves from complicity with this sin, and stood forth in their business relations as men of incorruptible integrity who make righteous living their chief concern.

Reference has already been made to the luxury and extravagance of the age. This is doubtless a barrier to quiet advance-

ment in the religious character. The discipline of body and mind necessary to real growth in grace is essentially opposed to the luxuries and over-refinements of this age. And the vitality and energy of our churches are seriously depressed by that love of ease and comfort and self-indulgence which too surely characterizes our rich and prosperous country. Compared with the number of professed disciples of Jesus, how few there are who are ready to forsake all, if need be, that they may follow Him. How few who count all things but loss for Christ. Earnestness and zeal in the pursuit of pleasure or wealth receive the sanction of public opinion, but in the things of God they are ridiculed and condemned, and are regarded as fanaticism. And sometimes the lives of those who profess to be children of the Light plainly declare that they are more concerned about ease and self-indulgence, money and worldly pleasure, than about the service and glory of their Lord. What spectacle does the Church of Christ in our day present? Instead of a Christian army, strong in the power of God's might, and always more than conquerors through Him who loves us, is it not, for the most part, an undisciplined crowd, hardly distinguishable from the mass of the worldly, and sadly tainted with the desire for vain glory, the love of the world, and every characteristic of spiritual weakness? If some of the holy men whose names are associated with early Methodism could return to the scene of their labours and triumphs, would they rejoice in the changes that have come over the Church since their day? Would they witness the same decision, the same faithfulness, the same unyielding adherence to principle in the face of contempt and scorn? Since their day a profession of religion has become more fashionable, but has its power proportionately increased? Is religion so faultless in her symmetry, so heavenly in her mien now, that, as Bunyan says, she goes in silver slippers? Has she not suffered more from the world's smiles than from the world's frowns?

Another noticeable feature of this age is the increasing craving for frivolous and sensational amusements. The late John Angel James, when walking with a friend in the Birmingham streets, directed his attention to the numerous placards of concerts, acrobats, tumblers, wizards, entertainments, theatres, balls, and so forth, that appeared on the walls, and, with the greatest gravity and solemnity, said, "Oh! what is to become of us with this insane love of pleasure?" Innocent and rational recreation is essential to healthfulness both of body and mind, but *that* is widely different from the dissipa-

ting frivolity which seems to be creeping over English society, and threatens to destroy our character for manliness and seriousness. And this inordinate love of amusement does certainly affect the prosperity of our churches. It has led to the adoption of means to attract men to religion, which, to say the least, are very questionable in their influence. Some of our churches seem to regard it as a part of their mission to cater for the recreation and amusement of the public. We have known entertainments permitted in connection with our Sunday Schools that are open to the gravest objections; entertainments that cannot fail to increase among our young people that voracious appetite for excitement and amusement which it is surely our duty to restrain and correct. Are these things likely to promote the increase of personal holiness? Are they not rather in accordance with the spirit that is of the world than with the spirit that is of God? Nor is this the only injurious result of the tendency we are considering. Probably few Christians escape altogether the ill effects of social and religious dissipation. The sacred hours of retirement are invaded by the increasing demands which this craving makes upon the time. The stimulus of artificial excitement, once needless, now becomes essential, and life without it is scarcely endurable. The mind becomes unfitted for the peaceful exercises of a religious life, and for the patient continuance in well-doing. The eager endeavour to gratify that taste for novelty, which in these days is so unhappily prevalent, interferes most injuriously with the steady, persevering, continuous working of the ordinary machinery of our churches. The even tenor of church work is too monotonous for those who have caught the infection of this craving for sensation and excitement that is about in the air just now. Thus, not only is individual piety dwarfed and emasculated by this frivolous spirit, but the work of our churches is checked and disordered.

Other tendencies of the age might be referred to as contributing to the depression under which the Church of Christ is labouring.

The determined effort that is being made within the pale of the Established Church to resuscitate the decaying power of Popery is seducing numbers from the simplicity of the truth. The heartless scepticism that declares Christianity a myth and the Bible a fable is undermining the faith of many. The pure white light of the Gospel is, to some, less attractive than the ruddy glare of "science falsely so called." The sanctity of our English Sabbath is rudely assailed by those who would degrade

it into a day of sensuous pleasure. But these dangerous foes to spiritual religion have been exposed by abler hands than ours.

We have sought merely to indicate some of the less prominent, but not the less perilous, enemies that lurk by the wayside of our every day life, the detrimental influences that flow out of the intense worldliness of the age, the dissipation of its restlessness and thirst for amusement, the standard of its commercial morality, and the luxuriousness of its manners It must be remembered, however, that all these things, whilst undoubtedly obstructions to the progress of Christianity, are no apology for its failure, inasmuch as Christianity is a system designed by God for the very purpose of overcoming them. If the specific mission of the Gospel be to destroy the evil that is in the world, then the existence of that evil is not an admissible reason for its non-success. Would that the Churches of our day fully discerned this plain truth. Then, instead of idly lamenting these evils, they would promptly recognize it to be their divinely appointed work to resist and conquer them in the strength of God.

J. F. G.

ART. IV.—ART IN ITS HIGHEST RELATIONS.

Lectures on Art: delivered before the University at Oxford, in Hilary Term, 1870, by John Ruskin, M.A., Oxford. Clarendon Press, 1870. pp. 189.

NO man is more worthy of being respectfully heard by his contemporaries within his proper sphere than Mr. Ruskin; but no man utters more absurd paradoxes out of that sphere than he. As an art critic, as an interpreter of Nature's most subtle moods and phases, and as a stern vindicator of art in its higher uses and relations, he stands superior to any man of this generation; but when he attempts to teach the nation political economy, to descant oracularly on the employment of criminals, the prohibition of commercial competition, the disaster of the railway system, or his peculiar theory of sanitary reform; when he pours out dismal jeremiads concerning the deterioration of the country, and prophesies for it nothing but downfall and dishonour; we are only surprised at the strange combination of wisdom and folly which is sometimes found in certain people. In his own domain Mr. Ruskin is sublime; but when he intrudes into other regions, he takes the one step which separates the sublime from the ridiculous.

The book before us is a true vindication of Mr. Ruskin's peculiar characteristics; it is pitiable to find him indulging in such hopeless lamentations over our modern civilization; but to read it throughout is like taking a walk on the mountains on a bright, breezy morning. It is a book by itself on its special subject; it is unlike all other works on Art; it resembles nature in one of her most wilful but attractive moods, when she laughs and sobs in the same moment, or when she brings into charming relationship the most various objects of beauty.

We are sorry to read on the first page of these lectures the following passage:—"It has chanced to me of late to be so little acquainted either with pride or hope, that I can scarcely recover so much as I now need of the one for strength, and of the other for foresight, except by remembering that noble persons and friends of the high temper that judges most clearly where it loves best, have desired that this trust should be given me." It is very grieving that a man like Mr. Ruskin should see so little around him in human life but what is dark

and dreary. But the moral strain of the inaugural lecture is very fine, and must have inspired the hearts of many of the young men who listened to him with desire to carry into the Arts that stern, earnest truth of which noble Art is always the expression; and the closing words of the lecture are equal to Mr. Ruskin's best utterances. Here are some of them:—

"There is a destiny now possible to us—the highest ever set before a nation to be accepted or refused. We are still undegenerate in race; a race mingled by the best northern blood. We are not yet dissolute in temper, but still have the firmness to govern and the grace to obey. We have been taught a religion of pure mercy, which we must finally betray or learn to defend by fulfilling. And we are rich in an inheritance of honour, bequeathed to us through a thousand years of noble history, which it should be our daily thirst to increase with splendid avarice, so that Englishmen, if it be a sin to covet honour, should be the most offending souls alive. Within the last few years we have had the laws of natural science opened to us with a rapidity which has been blinding by its brightness; and means of transit and communication given to us, which have made but one kingdom of the habitable globe. One kingdom; but who is to be its king? Is there to be no king in it, think you, and every man to do that which is right in his own eyes? Or only kings of terror and the obscene empires of Mammon and Belial? Or will you youths of England make your country again a royal throne of kings; a sceptred isle, for all the world a source of light, a centre of peace; mistress of learning and of the arts;—faithful guardian of great memories in the midst of irreverent and ephemeral visions;—faithful servant of time-tried principles, under temptation from fond experiments and licentious desires; and amidst the cruel and clamorous jealousies of the nations, worshipped in her strange valour of goodwill to men."—pp. 27-8.

The second lecture on "The Relation of Art to Religion," contains very much noble writing and pure sentiment. These two short sentences will help us to catch Mr. Ruskin's meaning in treating of this subject. "I use the word 'religion' as signifying the feelings of love, reverence, or dread, with which the human mind is affected by its conceptions of spiritual being." "The pure forms or states of religion hitherto known, are those in which a healthy humanity, finding in itself many foibles and sins, has imagined, or been made conscious of, the existence of higher spiritual personality, liable to no such fault or stain; and has been assisted in effort and consoled in pain, by reference to the will or sympathy of such more pure spirit, whether imagined or real." It is clearly pointed out how our conception of religion is aided or retarded by art; how art has often degraded religion by expressing its truths in ignoble

forms, or carricaturing it altogether, by merely presenting half truths; and, withholding any adequate representation of truth itself, has been one means of holding men in the bonds of superstition. The following passage partly relates to this point, and shows the effect of numberless representations of the Crucifixion during the period of the Renaissance:—

"When any of you next go abroad, observe, and consider the meaning of, the sculptures and paintings, which of every rank in art, and in every chapel and cathedral, and by every mountain path, recall the hours and represent the agonies of Christ: and try to form some estimate of the efforts that have been made by the four arts of eloquence, music, painting, and sculpture, since the twelfth century, to wring out of the hearts of women the last drops of pity that could be excited for this merely physical agony: for the art nearly always dwells on the physical wounds or exhaustion chiefly, far more than it animates the conception of pain.

"Then try to conceive the quantity of time and of excited and thrilling emotion, which have been wasted by the tender and delicate women of Christendom during these last six hundred years, in thus picturing to themselves, under the influence of such imagery, the bodily pain, long since past, of One Person; which, so far, indeed, as they conceived it to be sustained by a divine nature, could not for that reason have been less endurable than the agonies of any simple human death by torture; and then try to estimate what might have been the better result for the righteousness and felicity of mankind, if these same women had been taught the deep meaning of the last words that were spoken by their Master to those who had ministered to Him of their substance: 'Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for Me, but for yourselves, and your children.' If they had but been taught to measure with their pitiful thoughts the tortures of battle fields; the slowly consuming plagues of death in the starving children, and wasted age, of the innumerable desolate those battles left; nay, in our own time of peace, the agony of unnurtured, untaught, unhelped creatures, awaiting at the grave's edge to know how they should have lived; and the worse pain of those whose existence, not the ceasing of it, is death; those to whom the cradle was a curse, and for whom the words they cannot hear 'ashes to ashes,' are all they have ever received of benediction. These—you who would fain have wept at His feet, or stood by His cross—these you have always with you, Him you have not always." Pp. 54—5.

In speaking of the temper in which art should be practised, the following words are worthy of notice:—

"Above all things, see that you be modest in your thoughts; for of this one thing we may be absolutely sure that all our thoughts are but degrees of darkness. And in these days you have to guard against the fatallest darkness of the two opposite prides: the pride

of faith, which imagines that the nature of the Deity can be defined by its own convictions; and the pride of science, which imagines that the energy of Deity can be explained by its analysis." P.p. 41—2.

We can only indicate the course of Mr. Ruskin in this lecture and the succeeding; for to do more would be to exceed our space, and to quote every noticeable passage would be to reproduce half the volume. He deals with the following questions in the present lecture:—"First—What ground have we for thinking that art has ever been inspired as a message or revelation? What internal evidence is there in the work of great artistes of their having been under the authoritative guidance of supernatural powers? Second—How far art, if not inspired, has been ennobled by religion? and third—How far religion has been helped by art?" These are great questions, interesting to all Christian thinking men. There is much to challenge in some of Mr. Ruskin's conclusions, but there are in the lecture many fine passages of spiritual teaching bearing upon general performance of duty from which all may profit.

The second lecture is the most important in the book. It contains much fine writing, but is difficult to understand, because of the rashness of the assertions and the confusion of the ideas. The subject is, "The relation of art to morality;" and the author at the outset says—"You must have the right moral state first, or you cannot have the art." This sounds well, and probably if Mr. Ruskin had clearly defined his meaning we might have agreed with him; but he does not do so, and we are left in perplexity. If he means that, in order to have a truly noble and helpful art, there must be fine moral qualities in a nation as a man, we cordially agree with him; and numerous illustrations might be quoted showing that an artist who has lived a sensual life has degenerated in his later productions, or that the Art of a nation has decayed in dignity as the nation has abandoned itself to luxury and profligacy. Judging from Mr. Ruskin's subsequent remarks, this is not his meaning, although he would doubtless agree with the sentiment. Does he then mean to teach that the state of a man's moral character must be good, or he cannot produce any work of truly noble art? If so, we think he is mistaken; he himself quotes Titian as an example of a noble artist; but Titian exercised no constraint on his morality, and associated frequently with degrading company. Therefore, Mr. Ruskin's stating requires qualification; and if the qualification were made, we imagine that he would say, only in his own free eloquence, that if any right feature be found in an

artist's work, it must be the reflection of some right element in the man himself; good cannot produce evil, nor evil good; and, therefore, the more high moral qualities are cultivated by the artist, the more will his productions reflect the principles of a high morality. The third lecture is on "The relation of art to use." Mr. Ruskin says, "Its offices in this respect are twofold: it gives form to knowledge, and grace to utility; that is to say, it makes permanently visible to us things which otherwise would neither be described by our science or retained by our memory; and it gives delightfulness and worth to the implements of daily use and materials of dress, furniture and lodging," p. 93. These points Mr. Ruskin elaborates with his usual brilliance of style, and we should be glad to present our readers with one or two extracts of special excellence, but this notice has been lengthened far beyond our intention. We cannot accept our author's assertions as to the great service that art is to render to Botany, or Geology, or Anatomy; for so far as Art truthfully portrays Nature it must generalise her, and general representations cannot effectually serve the student of science.

The three lectures on "Line," "Light," and "Colour," are more technical than those already referred to, and therefore will not be so acceptable to the general reader; but it is surprising how sucessfully Mr. Ruskin can clothe even technical subjects with warm and poetic grace. The book altogether is a refreshing one to read; the author's strong individuality and earnest tone, his vivid imagination and glowing style, make all that he writes attractive and delightful; and if he broaches absurd theories, we feel thankful that the theories are so evidently absurd as to be quite harmless, whilst the general influence is healthy and invigorating to a degree which it is given to few writers to exercise.

W. J. T.

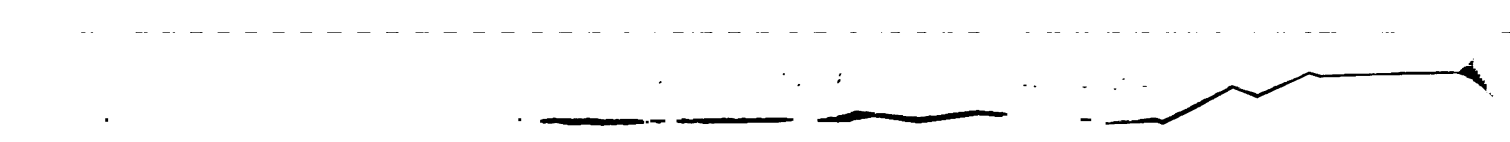
ART. V.—CHRISTIANITY AND POSITIVISM.

Christianity and Positivism. A Series of Lectures to the Times on Natural Theology and Apologetics. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D. Macmillan and Co., London.

IF America has not its Oxford and Cambridge, it has a host of minor colleges and seminaries that are presided over by eminent scholars and writers not unknown in England; and if it cannot boast of a Bampton or Hulsean Lectureship, it is not without a similar appendage to at least one of its seminaries. Many of our readers will hear now for the first time of the "Elias P. Ely Lectures;" but hearing of them in connection with the honoured name of Dr. McCosh they will regard them as not altogether unworthy of attention. Those who are acquainted with the works which the Dr. contributed to the department of philosophy while occupying the Chair of Logic and Metaphysics in Queen's University, Belfast, will be glad to meet him in his capacity of president of the college of New Jersey, Princeton, and as lecturer on "Christianity and Positivism." For though in this work the reader will soon perceive the same freedom of style which characterizes "The Method of the Divine Government," and which is thought by some to be incompatible with philosophical thought, yet there are few who will not be ready to admit that Dr. McCosh's works are more readable and interesting than are the works of professors of metaphysics generally. Like the work just mentioned these lectures abound in illustration and in passages that rise into eloquence, and when compared with our own Bampton lectures they are seen to be more fitted to catch the popular ear, and to interest persons less cultured, than are the readers of the Bampton or Hulsean Lecture. Bearing this in mind it is less difficult to understand how Dr. McCosh has been able, in a 12mo. vol. of less than 400 pp. to comprehend the theories of Huxley, Darwin, Tyndall, Herbert Spencer, Bain, Renan, and others, and to refute them, perhaps with more satisfaction to himself than to some who, having gone far into the fogs and bogs of Rationalism and Positivism, are not likely to be extricated by a few pages of a popular lecture. For those who are content with a knowledge of the more prominent features of the prevalent systems of philosophy and theology, we know not of any one book containing such an extensive summary as this, and in such a readable form.

The book consists of ten lectures, that being the number to which the lecturer is limited by the foundation of the Lectureship. The course is divided into three series. The first, which is entitled "Christianity and Physical Science," deals with the design argument, as affected by modern discoveries in science, natural selection according to Darwin, and the limits of it. The second series is devoted to "Christianity and Mental Science," and in the lectures in which the writer proves the existence of mind and of its capacity of knowledge, and the mental principles involved in the theistic argument, he reproduces in a condensed and popularized form the principles which he has laid down in former works. The third section discusses "Revealed Religion," and here our Lord's life is shown to be a reality and not a romance. The unity of that life is shown in the accounts given by Him, in His method of teaching, in His person, and in His work; and the section concludes with a sketch of the planting of the Christian Church, and the present position of Christianity. From this summary it will be seen that the book embraces almost every subject that is at present agitating thoughtful minds, and any attempt to throw light on these, and so to condense it as to make it available to students and ministers with limited resources, and too many cares to go through more bulky and expensive volumes, will deserve the gratitude of these classes.

But good as the lecturer's intentions must be acknowledged to be, it seems to us that in attempting to do so much he has made his book less useful and valuable than it would have been had he attempted less. And in many places, instead of satisfying a reader anxious for light on the subjects here discussed, he only irritates him by stating theories and exciting doubts, which he often fails to satisfactorily answer, and this not because of inability to grapple with the difficulty, but partly because of the too wide range of subjects treated upon, and partly because of a tendency, manifest all through the book, to fly off into a rhetorical style of writing, which while well enough in a sermon or ordinary mechanics' institution lecture, seems altogether out of place in a book which ought surely not to aim primarily at popularity, but logical accuracy. And not in this only is Dr. McCosh unprofessional in style. In many places he aims at "smartness" not untinctured with a species of egotism which, amongst the Americans, seems to be of first importance in order to the readableness of a book or hearableness of a sermon. Not but that we English can enjoy a spice of humour even in theological disquisitions and sermons, and we ought to be thankful for that rare phenomenon,



a professor of metaphysics who aims at creating a little fun in the lecture-room. But honesty compels us to say that Dr. McCosh's humour is a little heavy, and might, without any detraction from the readableness of his lectures, be left out. For instance, in speaking of the ambiguity of the term as used by some philosophers, "the thing in itself," he says, "But I hear some one asking in astonishment, Do you really mean to say that you know the thing—the thing in itself? It is said of Scotchmen, whether justly or not I will not take upon myself to say—for I am not altogether impartial in speaking of Scotchmen—but truly or falsely it is alleged of Scotchmen that when asked a sharp question they are apt to put a sharp question in return. I am inclined to use the Scotchman's privilege on this occassion, and inquire, What do you mean by '*a thing in itself*.'" Again, in closing the second lecture, which purports to deal with the subject of "natural selection," but which to say the least of it is, throughout the larger part, more rhetorical than relevant, we have this passage—

"I do fear that in my past life I have often been tempted to pay obeisance to false gods; but I thank the great God that I have always been kept from that prevalent form of idolatry—found not only in Persia and in the East, but in this western world—which worships the rising sun. I confess that I might have been enticed to adore him in his setting splendours; that is in some of those old grandeurs which have had their day and are now disappearing in a soft radiance which they did not possess in their zenith. I am sure that there is nothing in my past life of which I am entitled to be proud; but if I could take credit for anything it would be for the fact that,—descended from covenanting forefathers who, not contended with suffering as the Puritans did, went on to resist oppression on their heather hills, which always look to me as though they had been dyed with their blood,—I have in the great questions of the day, educational and religious, in Scotland and in Ireland, cast in my lot with the minority, which in one season became the majority; and when I left any cause, it was because it had waxed strong and did not need my poor aid."

Now, letting alone these references to himself which appear to have a slight tinge of "Uriah Heep," and which are really out of place in any book written by one who from so great a man as Sir W. Hamilton won no mean praise, we fear that the frequency of such passages as that quoted above would give occasion for unkindly critics to insinuate that if used by a less able man than Professor McCosh they would have the appearance of an attempt at book-making, and that small as

the book is compared with the importance of the subjects with which it deals, it might have been much reduced in size without at all detracting from its intrinsic value. Others will like the book all the more for these personal allusions, indicating as they do a great deal of good feeling on the part of the lecturer, and a willingness to reveal more of his heart than professors and principals of colleges usually do to those under their care. To assist young men through theological and philosophical difficulties is to Professor McCosh a labour of love. And, by the way, he would have spelt that word "labor." He has adopted the abominable method of thus misspelling all this class of words, which is an American institution.

And now we are glad we have said the worst we have to say of this book, and it is pleasant to follow the writer into the discussion of subjects every day becoming more interesting to thoughtful minds. Very courageously he accepts the challenges of the most advanced materialists, and maintains that with all the progress of science, and all the startling revelations in Biology made since Paley's time, the Design argument is as valuable as ever, and will remain so, whatever new facts science may lay before us; and taking the counsel of an opponent, he acts on the recommendation of Mr. J. S. Mill to those who would establish the existence of God, to stick to the argument from design. In a tone that is not meant for one of boastfulness, but of strong confidence, he pledges himself that should he be alive at the time when biologists announce that they have succeeded in discovering what according to Professor Tyndall many are now in sanguine search of—a method by which organized matter can be produced from unorganized—he will point out some weak place that the men of science have overlooked, and will triumphantly maintain the old truth, that there is no power in nature capable of generating sensation out of particles of matter not themselves capable of sensation. The narrow world which theologians are supposed to inhabit was thought to be turned upside down some time since by the discovery of that now famous substance Protoplasm, "the elementary life stuff of all plants and animals," and that the old treatises proving that the infinitely varied forms of life give evidence of pre-arrangement, skill, and purpose, had better be consigned to the limbo of all the worn-out theological notions. But we hold up our heads again now that it is found that philosophers themselves differ widely about protoplasm, and do not admit that one and same substance is the matter of all organisms, but that "it differs in different tissues; is

different in the bone from what it is in the muscle, and different in the nerves and brain from what it is in any other part of the frame." Again, "it differs in different plants and animals, each of which has its own kind, which is not interchangeable with that of the rest," and what is most important of all "protoplasm can only be produced by protoplasm, and each of all the varieties only by its own kind," for the protoplasm of the worm we must go to the worm, for that of the toadstool to the toadstool. In fact, if all living beings came from protoplasm, it is quite as certain that but for living beings protoplasm would disappear. We need not then become afraid of the argument from design becoming worthless until science is able to inform us where the first protoplasm came from. We may have to change our views on some minor details of it, as our fathers had to change theirs, but, as Dr. McCosh assures us, "there is really no ground for the fears of the timid on the one hand, nor on the other for the arrogant expectation of the atheist that he will thereby be able to drive God from His works. Spontaneous generation is not to be understood as a generation out of nothing, an event without a cause, an affair of caprice or chance. It is a production out of pre-existing materials by means of powers in the materials—powers very much unknown, working only in certain circumstances, and requiring, in order to their operation, favourable conditions assorted (so all religious people think) by Divine wisdom. Spontaneous generation, supposing it to exist, cannot be a simple, it must be a very complex process; involving properties possessed by matter, and a concourse of circumstances working to the production of an intended end."

Further on, in the same lecture, Dr. McCosh says:

"The question as to whether there is or is not a separate vital principle, and whether there may not be a new species developed out of the old is a question for science to settle. And, which ever way it is there is room for irreligion, I am sorry to say; but there is room also for religion. The assertion that there is a vital principle, capable of originating, unfolding, and perfecting all that is in the organism, may be quite as irreligious as the denial of a separate vital potency. Proceeding on the existence of vital force, which they suppose, pantheistically or atheistically, to inhere in nature, there are some who imagine that they have thereby explained everything connected with the developement and growth of vegetable and animal organisms. Mr. Huxley can work such wonders by protoplasm, only by imparting to it a life-power such as is ascribed to nature generally by pantheists. I am inclined, on the evidence of science, to believe in a vital power, as different from the chemical as the chemical is

from the mechanical, but I do not believe in an independent power called the vegetable or animal life, capable of producing all the beautiful forms and adaptations which we admire in living creatures. It can be shown, whether we do or do not call in a vital principle, that there is need of a whole series of nice arrangements of part and power before the organism can fulfil its functions and yield seed after its kind, or better than its kind. It is a question to be decided by naturalists and not by theologians; who so far as I see have no authority from the Word of God to say that every species of tiny moths has been created independent of all species of moths which have gone before. The natural tendency of theologians will be conservative. It is not for them eagerly to run after every new theory which may be propounded and live its ephemeral day, and to make religion to lean upon it only to suffer a fall and a humiliation when it breaks down. 'He that believeth shall not make haste.' Religion can afford to wait till the point is established or disestablished. When a law has been established so as to stand the tests of scientific induction then theologians may reverently use it in expounding the traces of design discoverable in the universe.

In giving this lengthy quotation our chief aim is to show that Dr. McCosh writes with a great deal of good feeling towards the men who occupy the most advanced positions in science, and who are often accused of hostility to Christianity. More than once of late, in reading carefully the latest utterances of Professors Tyndall, Huxley, and others, we have been led to ask, Is there really so much antagonism and irreverence toward Christianity as is popularly supposed? Let any impartial reader, after perusing the "Fragments of Science for Unscientific People," or the "Lay Sermons," say whether it be right to brand these men as atheists. It is true they accept the facts of science, whatever be the consequences, when the evidence is sufficiently strong, but how often has this been a real gain rather than an injury done to theology; overturning theories, which, though hoary with age, have had no right to the prominent place they have so long held, and which, when shaken, did not remain, and by their removal theologians have had to go to work afresh, and in the end have found a more sure and satisfying footing for their faith, and perhaps more in harmony with the teachings of the Bible than the old one was. As Dr. McCosh says, "It is now admitted that Christians may hold, in perfect consistency with religion and Genesis, that certain layers of rock were formed, not at once by a fiat of God, but mediately by water and fire, as the agents of God. And are they not at liberty to hold, always if evidence be produced, that higher plants have been developed from lower, according to certain laws of descent,

known or unknown, working in favourable circumstances? There is nothing irreligious in the idea of descent, properly understood. We have constant experience of development of individual plants and animals from parent plants and animals. And why, if proof be produced, should we not be allowed to believe in the development of a new species from the crossing of two species in favourable circumstances?"

Now, it seems to us the question for theologians is whether a like attitude to this, here assumed on one disputed point, could not be assumed on others? Not, indeed, that they should ask how much they are prepared to concede to the claims of science, as put forth by those who lack alike reverence for religion and proficiency in science; for as a recent able writer in the *Contemporary Review* has pointed out,* we must distinguish between science and the statements put forward in her name, between scientific demonstration and facts said to have been demonstrated by investigation called "scientific," between the actual discovery of new truths, proved beyond all question, and mere assertions sufficiently dogmatic, dictatorial, and positive, but resting upon authority instead of upon evidence. It is not every assertion that any professor of science chooses to put forth that we need try to answer from our pulpits or otherwise. A wise reserve best becomes us, seeing that science has so often contradicted itself, and it is time enough to ask where and how religion and science diverge when we have before us the demonstrated fact.

One thing, however, is evident; no teacher of religious truth can afford to remain in ignorance of physical science, and the positions taken up by our most advanced professors. As a recent issue of the *Spectator* observes, "no influence has more deeply penetrated the mind of our day than that of physical science. We are not secured from it by never opening a book on the subject; it may be recognized in the tropes and figures of the newspaper-writer; it colours the speculations of thinkers who regard it with distaste, and prescribes a dialect to writers who are ignorant of every one of its laws." Moreover, that there is a large amount of hostility to theology we cannot deny, and there will yet be many a battle fought; and science has this vantage-ground, that men, as a rule, allow themselves to be carried away with the latest and most startling discovery that is announced. Science deals with facts that may be

* Physical Life Theories and Religious Thought, by Dr. Lional S. Beale. April, 1871.

demonstrated, and demands nothing of faith; theology deals largely with spiritual agencies that we have to accept as mysteries, without any possibility of demonstration. Science appeals to man's reason and upholds to him countless wonders, of which he himself is the greatest and grandest, and so feeds his pride; theology humbles him by speaking to him of sin and redemption, and demanding of him repentance, faith, self-sacrifice, as conditions of entrance into the kingdom of God; and because of this difference between the two, theology can never have the same attractions as science to beings of such a nature and in such circumstances as belong to ourselves. Nevertheless, the preachers and teachers of the Christian Church have the power to render theology a much less repulsive study than it is popularly supposed to be, and without sacrificing any essential element of it they may lessen the antagonism and narrow the gulf that separates the two, and one of the first requisites, we think, is that theologians should cease to regard with suspicion every advance of science as that of a foe into a territory where it has not right to show itself, and which should be driven back by all the powerful artillery which the Church can command. The wisest attitude for them to assume is that of a sharp outlook upon the movements of all the leaders of thought, and a sincere desire to understand their object and aim before any attack is made upon them; for sometimes theologians have injured their best friends by treating them as enemies.

Dr. McCosh is very emphatic in urging that the greatest of all dangers to Christianity, and the subtlest of all forms of infidelity, is to be found among the disciples of Comte, and especially in the doctrines of nescience and relativity as laid down by Positivists, in which it is insisted that man knows nothing, and can know nothing, of the *nature* of things, but only of the *relation* of things. "It does not just deny that there is no God, for that would be unphilosophic, but it declares that God, if there be a God, is and must be unknown. It does not say that man has not a soul, but it identifies that soul with the body, and thus leaves us no evidence that the soul may live after the body dies." This school of philosophy, we are told, has leaders of eminence, zeal, and ability, in most of the leading branches of knowledge. They have some of the literary and scientific institutions of Great Britain very much in their own hands, and are seeking to find a place in others. They are also labouring to lay hold of young men, more particularly those connected with the press, and they have been especially successful with two classes; with those who

would like to be thought philosophers, but who have no time nor taste for the study of a deeper philosophy; and with those who, in a feeling of disappointment, have been obliged to turn aside from their intended professions in life—most commonly the Church—to engage in literary pursuits. They have a body of adherents eager to propagate their system, and ever ready to make an assault on all who would inculcate a philosophy of a higher and more spiritual character. The most dangerous because the most powerful and speculative thinker of this school, Dr. McCosh thinks is Mr. Herbert Spencer, and he, therefore, has the greatest prominence given him in these lectures, and his theory is stated and answered, and his errors exposed. The most valuable part of these lectures seems to be those in which Dr. McCosh lays down and works out the following positions,—First, that man has means of knowing the existence of mind as immediate as the means of knowing the existence of matter; second, that we have a positive though limited knowledge of mind even as we have a positive though limited knowledge of body; third, as matter cannot be resolved into mind on the one hand, so mind cannot be resolved into matter on the other; and these positions he follows up by showing that as mind has the capability of acquiring knowledge, it can in the exercise of that capacity, rise to the knowledge of God and clothe Him with infinite perfections. And though the writer has here to condense into one chapter what might well extend through a book much larger than the volume before us, he yet gives a clear and satisfactory resumé of the argument, which represents God as known and knowable, in answer to those who hold that God is unknown and unknowable.

One of the most interesting lectures in the course is that in which is described the progress of free thought in America, with especial reference to the Boston theology, and the influence of Channing, Theodore Parker, and Emerson—each of these leading a step lower into darkness, and to go further in the direction in which they conduct their followers is to come to a lower step still, the deep of utter Materialism. Of the last section of the book, which treats on Apologetics, it seems to us, little need be said. We confess ourselves disappointed. Nearly the whole of the chapter of some thirty pages on "our Lord's life a reality and not a romance," is simply a reprint of an article furnished by Dr. McCosh to *Good Words*, in 1864. We should have thought that in a series of lectures of such a character as this we should have had the writer's thoughts at first hand. Evidently literary work pays well, when a writer

receives a good round sum for a contribution to a popular periodical, another sum when he delivers it in the form of a lecture, and another sum when he issues it as forming part of a book. We do not complain; but it seems to us that book-buyers now-a-days run too great a risk of finding that the book which has attracted them by its novel title, and which they carry home rejoicing, turns out to be nothing other than the familiar magazine article in a new dress.

Art. VI.—THE DECREASE OF MEMBERSHIP IN METHODIST CHURCHES.

An unprecedented fact has transpired in the history of British Methodism. At their recent Conferences its various denominations, each and all, have had to report a decrease of membership. Nor is the declension trivial. There are several thousands of members less on their church rolls now than there were twelve months ago.

As might be expected, this fact has been the subject of criticism in the public papers. By some an interpretation has been put upon it unfavourable to the future of Methodism. They pronounce it to be on the decline—in its decadence. Its days of progress and prosperity are over, its power for evangelization is on the wane; it may retain its respectability and the high social position it has attained among the religious denominations of the land, but as to aggressiveness the future of its history will stand out in marked contrast with the past.

How ought the fact to be regarded by us? Shall we be indifferent to it? Give it a passing thought, and then decline to be further perplexed and troubled by its consideration? Or shall we pass from a flippant to a stolid mood, accept the fact as inevitable, like a failing harvest in the natural world, and so submit to it with as little regret as possible? Looking at it as something disappointing and painful in itself, but, being beyond the control of the human will, to be borne with becoming resignation, in the hope that another year may furnish a more cheering result?

Such a procedure can scarcely be justified to either one's intelligence or conscience. It rather becomes us as sincere

Methodists and earnest Christians to give the subject a faithful investigation, that we may correctly ascertain the cause of the fact, also estimate rightly its character, and then draw such inferences, practical and otherwise, as the knowledge we have gained may warrant.

First of all let us get a clear idea of what the fact we propose to consider involves. In the Methodist Churches of this country there are several thousands who during the past year have relinquished, or lost, their membership in those churches. This, however, does not necessarily mean that they have ceased to attend a Methodist ministry, or worship with Methodist congregations. They may yet attend on Christian ordinances in connection with this people, have their children baptized by its ministers, and themselves receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper at their hands. Those ministers may still be their pastors, their guides in perplexity, and their comforters in the hour of sorrow. In family troubles and personal sickness, or when the last sad solemn event of death casts its shadow over the household, their presence, and sympathy, and prayers are eagerly sought, and thankfully appreciated.

Nor does the decrease of membership necessarily imply that the finances of Methodist Churches are falling into decay, that missionary operations will be crippled, or that educational efforts, either in connection with the Sunday or week-day school, will be drawn within narrower limits. While it is not to be denied that such results might flow from the fact, on the other hand, it is not to be asserted that they will, of necessity, do so. It may mean, simply and solely, that the society class-meeting is unattended. What absence from the class is symptomatic of, or what is the moral character to be given that absence, has to be learnt from the reasons or causes which lead to its practice.

Can those reasons or causes be ascertained with any satisfactory approximation to accuracy? Or can we reach to nothing more certain concerning them than wild and random guess? Our reply is an affirmative to the first question. We think tolerable correctness may be attained to—a correctness as full and certain as need be desired—in assigning reasons for the state of things we are considering.

In carrying on the investigation it is of importance to remember that the declension of membership has fallen upon all Methodist denominations, and fallen upon them in nearly all parts of the kingdom. This circumstance is very significant, and almost necessarily conducts to the conclusion that

the fact in a great measure springs from causes common to all Methodist bodies, and also from a condition of things common to the whole country. This being so we shall not get on the right track of inquiry by seeking to trace it to doctrinal beliefs, or Church polity. Methodists have not receded from the faith of their forefathers, they hold and proclaim the same doctrines which have been held by them from the beginning, therefore doctrinal defection is not the cause of declension of membership. Nor yet the form of Church government adopted. On this point there are diversities of administration in the Methodist family, and by them, in past times, the peace and harmony of the family have been disturbed. They have engendered controversial strife and mutual ill-feeling to the retarding of the true work of God. But those times are gone to be succeeded by reciprocal tolerance and respect, and also the practice of a fraternal intercourse amongst the Methodist denominations more sincere and general than was ever before known. Controversy about Church polity is therefore not the cause of loss of members, while, from the indiscriminate impartiality with which the loss has happened to all, it cannot be said to be induced by any particular form of ecclesiastical government practised. The Wesleyan body, with their exclusively ministerial conference, and the Reform Union with their non-recognition of ministerial status; the New Connexion with its much-boasted balance of power between minister and laymen, and the Primitives with the lay element largely preponderating; the United Free Churches with their liberty for the churches to do as they like, and constitute their annual assembly solely of ministers or solely of laymen, and the Bible Christians with their carefully-adjusted system of ecclesiastical rule; all share in the same calamity, and so make evident to us that no particular mode of polity has caused it, and on the other hand no particular mode of Church polity can be looked to as an effectual safeguard against decrease.

In quest of common causes for the solution of the phenomenon we are considering the migratory character of our industrial population will be found to gravely affect the membership of Methodist societies.

The English people, with regard to their fixity to local habitations, are not the same people they were two or three generations ago. Very few now live and die at the place where they were born and brought up. The application of steam force to locomotion by sea and by land has produced a social revolution in both our habits and our tastes. We have facilities for going from one end of the country to the

other—from one end of the world to the other—both as to time, cost, and comfort which our great grandfathers never dreamt of. These facilities for change of place have given us a disposition for change, while our necessities often force it upon us whether we wish for it or not. Our sources of industry and means of employment fluctuate, they are now here, now there, and anon elsewhere, and those who earn their bread by the strong arm or active brain must go where they can get something to do; while the class is a large one of those who will go where they can get the highest remuneration for their labour.

This unsettledness of our working population is a large cause of the loss of membership in Methodist churches. We say this not from conjecture, but from personal knowledge, gathered during a long period, and from a wide field, of observation.

But may not the changeableness of our population be regarded as a gain as well as a loss to Methodist churches, and in the aggregate does not the gain fully counterbalance the loss? Certainly all members are not lost to Church fellowship by change of residence, many join the society into whose vicinity they happen to remove, and some, perhaps, are like a tree which grows better for being changed to new soil. This, however, is not the case with all, nor, do we think, with the majority. Their removal severs them from one church without connecting them with another. By it in all probability they get thrown into company, and are led to form associations, which prove hindrances to the renewal of their suspended fellowship, by initiating the formation of habits and tastes that are incompatible with its practice.

And then, to go back to the metaphor we have just employed, while the transplantation of a tree to new soil and a new situation may be beneficial to it, we know that this is not always the result, we know that it may be otherwise. In many a garden and orchard and field is proof to be seen of that. You look upon some languishing object and hear the remark,—that tree was once vigorous and fruitful, but it has ceased to flourish since I removed it from the spot where it formerly grew.

This is a picture of many Methodists. They ran well, they abounded in the work of the Lord, their souls were in health, and they prospered while they continued in fellowship with the church of their first choice. But circumstances sever their connection with that church, they remove to some other locality, and finding a Methodist society there they join it.

But they are not happy or at rest in the union. The friends are not cordial, so they think; they are shy and distant with them as new-comers. Or, they are in spirit and manners altogether a different people to what they have been used to. They are stiff, cold, formal, and they cannot feel at home with such a people, and so by degrees they break off attending class, and become only hearers, members of the congregation and nothing more. Or, perhaps, they do not even stay in the outer circle, but drop away fully, and leave the place altogether.

The minor bodies of Methodists complain of heavy losses of members by their removal to places where their community has no existence. The Wesleyan body is placed to an advantage in this respect, as it is found in almost every village in the land, and so ought to gain by what contributes to the loss of others. Yet we fear this is not so, members when cut off from communion with their own particular demonination not being so ready to enter into fellowship with other Methodist denominations as they ought to be, and might be expected to be. There is, however, improvement in this, of late very great improvement, and we hope the oneness of Methodism will, ere long, be presented to the world not as a grand sentiment merely, but a realised fact.

If migration in our own country is to be recognised as a source of loss to the membership of Methodism, much more is emigration to other countries to be thus regarded. Removals out of the country have been a great drain on membership in Ireland for many years, and this drainage is beginning to be felt in England more than it was some years ago. The exhaustion, or supposed exhaustion, of the tin mines in Cornwall has led thousands to emigrate to other shores, and by that number has consequently diminished membership in this country.

But we advance to a more serious view of the subject.

Is there not another cause for the decrease of Methodist membership,—a cause which is to be found in change of view and feeling with regard to the Class-meeting Institution?

That such a change has taken place, and is still in progress, is positively asserted, and we should think cannot admit of a doubt. It also so extensively prevails, that, without being open to the charge of undue generalization, we may say it is a change coming over the mind of Methodism. One proof of this is to be found in the many defences of the class-meeting test of membership which have been published of late. These defences would not have been written had there been no

questioning or doubt of the rightness of such a test. Then the tone of these defences is indicative of the same thing. The rough-and-ready style of denunciation which once would have been adopted is changed to calm and intelligent reasoning, and respectful entreaty.

But there is positive as well as inferential evidence of the fact. A Wesleyan minister has been bold enough to propose from the press a modification of the system, and suggest that membership in Methodist churches should be placed on other grounds than meeting in class. True, he has met with the fate from his ecclesiastical compeers which might have been expected, but, while condemned and punished, admissions were made by his prosecutors which will lead some to question the equity of their decision. It was allowed that there are thousands in Methodist congregations whose Christian character is unquestioned and unquestionable, who are kept out of the inner pale of membership by this one disqualification only—they do not meet in class.

Can we account for this change of view and feeling toward an institution that has been regarded by vast numbers as vital to Methodism?

We find one cause for it in the very prosperity of Methodism itself. Like the first Christians the first Methodists were for a time a people everywhere spoken against. But they lived down their reproach, and by well-doing, put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. By degrees the tide of popularity turned upon them, and their communion was sought by many who did not rigidly adopt their practices, and indeed from their position in society scarcely could do so.

Then circumstances changed with those who began their Methodist life by an exemplary attendance at class. They went week by week not merely from a sense of duty, but because they loved the means and found great profit and joy in them. Their relish for this fellowship is retained by them, but changes in their temporal condition place it beyond their reach.

Then something must be allowed for the modifying influences of culture. The early Methodists were chiefly unlettered. They were taken from the sons of toil—artizans, peasants, and miners. They were the unwashed and the unpolished. But Methodism has ever incited its adherents to mental culivation. Its founder put forth prodigious efforts to make his followers an intelligent as well as a devout and godly people. Each succeeding generation has seen them advance in social status and intellectual culture. Many are now in these respects placed at

so great a distance from their ancestors that it is almost impossible for them to form an idea of the rough rock from which they were hewn, and the dark and dirty hole of the pit from which they were digged. Now culture necessarily tends to the development of self-consciousness, and this makes us sensitive to the criticisms and observations of others, and so in many instances it places an almost insuperable barrier in the way of outspoken communications of inward and sacred feeling, even when these communications are made in a religious service.

Again, the influence of Methodism on other Churches has been most salutary. All have been quickened by it, and stimulated to abounding zeal for the Saviour's cause. But many Churches have caught the spirit of Methodism without adopting its forms, or even approximating to its terms of membership. This has led many to question whether the traditions of the elders in relation to some usages might not be advantageously relaxed in the fold of Methodism itself. And, as freedom and boldness are the order of the day, they have refused to be bound by the *ipse dixit* of their teachers and rulers, and claimed to walk in the light of their own intelligent and conscientious convictions.

The very action of their ecclesiastical superiors has contributed to fortify them in this decision. Mr. Wesley did not aspire to be the founder of a Church, nothing was farther from his thought and purpose than this. He formed societies not Churches, and so he was free to give to these societies such rules for their guidance and government as he thought proper, which he would not have been had they been looked upon by him as regular Christian Churches. Things are changed now. The Wesleyan Conference claims for the connexion of which it is the acknowledged head all the privileges and prerogatives of a Church. So do the conferences of all other Methodist denominations in relation to the people to which they belong. Now a Christian Church is under the sole rule of Christ. He is its supreme head, and it is His prerogative to fix the terms of communion amongst His people, and His people are bound to receive those whom He receives. Has the class-meeting test of membership the imprimatur of Jesus Christ? Did He ordain it as a condition of union amongst His people? This view of the question may not sway the multitude, but the class it does sway is not insignificant either for numbers or character.

But there has been another cause contributing to change of view and feeling with regard to the class-meeting, which must

be taken into account, or we shall not form in every respect a right judgment on the fact we are considering.

This change is in many instances, we fear, only the result of another change—a change for the worse in Christian experience. To how many so-called Methodists may the Apostolic expostulation be appropriately addressed, "Ye did run well, who hath hindered you?" The source of the hindrance we now advert to,—a decay of the fervour of piety, probably a decay of piety itself,—is not the same in all cases, but in most it may be easily traced out.

The battle of life in all gradations of society at the present day is intensely severe, and in the excitement and struggle of it the maintenance of a Christian spirit and temper is exceedingly difficult. The absorption of time, attention, and energy demanded for the successful carrying on of trade is in many instances most detrimental to spiritual interests. All the day through it is hurry and worry, allowing but little time for calm thought and devout feeling, and when the day's exercises are over, either from sheer exhaustion, or by alien currents of thoughts and emotion having flooded the soul, there is utter unfitness for religious conversation and prayer. "Oh, the damning influence of business as now conducted," were words we once heard wrung from the lips of a Christian mother, by her anguish of spirit, as she saw the encrustations of worldliness gathering round the better life of her sons. And these words suggest another thought. How few return to their homes at the close of the day's toils with consciences void of offence both toward God and man. In their eagerness to buy and sell, and get gain, they have neglected to heed its monitions or requirements, and so have fallen into temptation and a snare; and here is an additional disqualification for the class-meeting. "I have been weak, if not wicked to-day," is the reflection, "but I will not add hypocrisy to my other sins by appearing to be better than I am."

Many, again, lose their devoutness by their secular prosperity. They get on in life, that is they get money, and money answereth all things. Their possession of it gives them a higher social status, and enables them to surround themselves with the elegancies and luxuries of life. They become the occupants of large and well-furnished houses, and their habitation is fitted up with every appliance that can minister to their ease and gratification. They are bewitched by this change of their social condition, become of the earth earthy, give themselves up to worldly display, and spend their resources in maintaining the pride of life, or gratifying the

lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye. Thus transformed, it is evident they are spoiled as Methodists, and if they keep their position among its outward adherents, it is inevitable that they fall from the rank of membership. How often has the class-leader had to apply to his members who have prospered in the world, and increased in riches, the words of St. Paul respecting one of his companions, "Demas has forsaken me, having loved the present world." How many Leaders themselves have been beguiled by the deceitfulness of riches, and ceased through their corrupting influence to be not only overseers, but even members of the flock.

In all grades of society the same deteriorating causes are at work. The facts recorded in the column which now appears almost daily in the newspaper, under the head "Work and Wages," are relevant to the subject of our article. There is a conflict going on in this country between labour and capital, between the employer and the employed, which in the nature of things cannot but be adverse to membership in all churches, but especially Methodist churches. The spirit of the movement on the part of the working-classes is embodied in the existence of gigantic trades' unions, and its energy is often manifested by outbursts which result in turn-outs and lock-outs of the most disastrous character—disastrous religiously as well as socially. By these occurrences members of the same churches are often brought into most unfriendly collision, and the probability is that they become so embittered toward each other that fellowship is no longer practicable, and so one, or both, or all parties concerned withdraw from church-membership.

In another way the evil of these events is seen and felt. They lead our young men into associations by which they get their Christian feelings subverted. We assert this from personal knowledge. We have lived in localities where strikes have occurred, and have been observant of their effects on the class of which we speak. Thousands by them have had for a time to live in enforced idleness. and under the most favourable circumstances the sentiment is correct, "that Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." But here the idler is placed in most unfavourable circumstances. Time hangs heavily on his hands, it cannot be all spent in reading or in social intercourse, and then there are the affairs of the strike to be talked over, and so the crowd in the street or square is joined, and conversation engaged in, in which sentiments of distrust toward Christian ministers, and Christian people generally, are insinuated. The leaven infused works, and

works with such injurious results that those, who a few months before, were the glory and joy of the society to which they belonged, have to be mourned over as lost to its communion.

It is open to inquiry whether the volunteer movement has not contributed to a decrease of membership in Methodist societies. The evening cannot be at once spent on the drill-ground and at the class, nor are the exercises and associations attendant on this movement of a character to inspire a taste for that religious service.

Finally, the spirit of the age is adverse to that spirituality of life without which membership in Methodist Churches, as it is now constituted, will never be steadily maintained.

Now, what is this spirit? Well, it has characteristics which are admirable, and which may make the heart of even a Methodist Christian rejoice. But it has also characteristics of a contrary kind. Our age is one of exhaustive toil. As a rule muscle and brain are kept on a continual strain. With large classes of our population it is more true that they live to work, than that they work to live. A ceaseless round of toil is their birth-heritage. In trade, competition is carried to such an excess that it is a perpetual incentive to untruthfulness and dishonesty. Then the evil is aggravated by that making haste to be rich which so many practise, and their unscrupulousness as to the means which they employ to gain their object. A love of display, and a craving for enervating and debasing excitement, is almost a universal passion, leading to recklessness of expenditure in dress, and the surroundings of life, and a devotedness to amusements irrespective of their cost of either time or money. But there are darker elements still at work. The appetites and passions of our animal nature are gratified to an awful extent, while gluttony, intemperance, and sensuality are indulged in on a scale, and after a manner, that might make even a heathen to blush.

Now this is one phase of the character of the age in which we live. But has not the course of this world ever run in this direction, and worn these features, why then should it now have a peculiar adverse effect on the condition of Methodist churches? Ah, why? This leads to the proposal of other inquiries. Do Methodists hold the same relation to the world which they used to do? Do they decline to conform to it on so many points as they once did? Are they as careful as formerly to keep unspotted from the world, and to escape the corruption that is in it through lust? We fear not. Methodists have changed from their predecessors in many things. Their manner of life in many respects is not now

what it was a generation or two ago. Over these changes as they refer to the externals and accidents of the Christian life we are not disposed to sigh. Singularity is not in itself a virtue. But are all the changes which have come over the people called Methodists only of this kind? Charges affecting the character of communities ought not to be recklessly made, any more than charges against the character of individuals; but there are too many facts to sustain the allegation that in spirituality, devoutness, purity, and Christian experience, Methodists are not what they once were. They have allowed worldliness to get among them, and habits of life are now common to them which once would have been considered a shame to exist in the least degree. Many have become latitudinarians in Christian living, and readily allow themselves in practices which would have troubled the consciences of their fathers to distraction or despair. And is not one principal source of the leakage of membership to be found here? Their tone of piety is lowered, they are not living to God as they ought, and as they once did, and hence one cause of the falling away which all Methodist bodies have to report.

Our readers are now prepared to rightly estimate the character and consequences of the declension of membership which has marked the annals of Methodism for the last year. We have sought to write about it truthfully, not, on the one hand, attaching to it an importance which it may not possess, nor, on the other, overlooking the evil which it may portend. In Hebrew history we read that the children of Issachar were men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do. Surely in the tribes of Methodism there are at the present day men of this class to be found, and to them we commend the consideration of the fact we have sought to expose. In every way, from whatever causes it may spring, it is momentous to the cause which is dear to us all. Our section of the Christian Church bears an honoured name; a name, however, which reminds us of solemn responsibilities, as well as betokens inestimable privileges. The fathers and founders of Methodism may justly demand of us that we be faithful to the former, while we are thankful for the latter. The cause in which they so earnestly laboured, and many of them so nobly suffered, must not languish in our hands. Though absent in person from those gatherings which they once warmed with their piety and illumined with their wisdom, we may yet suppose, without being chargeable with either credulity or superstition, that they are still cognisant of our doings, and retain their interest in the glorious work

they commenced, and left to their successors to carry on. And, further, could we obtain their audible counsel at this particular, and perhaps portentous juncture of affairs, we believe they would address us in words like these: "Look to yourselves, that we lose not those things which we have wrought, but that we receive a full reward."

ART. VII.—THE REV. T. HUGHES'S SERMONS.

Things New and Old Relative to Life: Being Sermons on Different Subjects, by T. H. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 27, Paternoster Row.

ALTHOUGH the author of these Sermons gives us only his initials on the title-page, it is well known that they are from the pen, of the Rev. Thos. Hughes, Wesleyan Minister, who is just now in trouble with his own Conference on account of some of his opinions on a leading point of Methodist discipline. Some three years ago Mr. Hughes published a book on "The Condition of Membership in the Christian Church, viewed in connection with the Class-Meeting Test in the Methodist Body." It does not appear from his work that Mr. Hughes objects to class meetings themselves, but only to their being the essential condition of membership in the Church of which he is a minister. It was, however, considered a high breach of discipline that such opinions should be published, and in 1869 the Conference marked its sense of the gravity of the offence by degrading their author from his superintendency, at the same time requesting him to reconsider his views between then and the Conference next ensuing. When the Conference met in 1870 it was found that Mr. Hughes's opinions had undergone no change; and after considerable discussion it was determined, as a further mark of displeasure, and, we may add, *as a further exercise of power*, that for the next year his name should not appear in the printed Minutes, but only in the Conference Journal. Thus, although retained as a minister in the body, he was left without circuit and without emolument. For the last twelve months he has not been "allowed to preach," he says, "except occasionally, and that almost secretly," and he has employed his enforced leisure in preparing and publishing the volume of sermons now lying before us.

With these explanations we feel bound now to state that we have seldom had a more perplexing and ungrateful task than that of reviewing these sermons. In the first place, being fully aware of the unpleasant relation of their author to the Wesleyan Conference, and considering the courage with which even in the late Manchester Conference, he maintained his unpopular opinions, we naturally took up his book with a good deal of interest, and with no lack of sympathy for himself; and we hoped (and expected) to have had the pleasure of directing our readers to a really valuable contribution to modern pulpit literature. We speak, therefore, with considerable regret, and not without some diffidence, when we say that our hope and expectation have not been realised. We say "not without some diffidence," because we are free to confess that our perplexity has been increased not a little by the favourable notices we have seen of the author's numerous other works. For Mr. Hughes is a voluminous writer, this last volume being no less than the eighteenth publication of various works on philosophy, theology, biography, and general literature, for nearly all of which he has received, more or less commendation. We have, therefore, asked ourselves, "Is there really some falling off in these sermons, or are we incapable of appreciating their merits?" Altogether we have been much and variously exercised; and if we cannot give to the volume before us the praise which has greeted his other works, we beg to assure Mr. Hughes of the kindest feeling towards himself, and to say that we have spared no pains in reading, and trying to appreciate this his latest work.

The faults of these sermons are their bad English, their extreme prolixity, and, what is to us their worst feature, their singularly negative character.

With regard to their composition, we are acquainted with no volume of equal size from which it would be possible to select so many ill-constructed and obscure sentences. Before dipping into the sermons, let our readers turn to the preface, a species of composition, which, of all others, ought to be most clear and distinct. It is altogether a marvellous performance: but there is in it one long compound sentence, which sets at defiance all grammatical analysis and every canon of rhetoric. "The author not being allowed to preach, except occasionally, and that almost secretly, without his name being allowed to appear on any printed plan or document,—but for this incident, the author would not have published a volume of sermons, at least not at present; he would have been too busy in preaching and performing other duties; he has published this volume that

he might not forget the work he used to perform with pleasure, and that he might still have some intercourse with his former hearers—by proxy though it be, and in a way less complete and effective it is true, than by the living voice; but when that is not permitted to be heard, it is the best way he can use,—for it is the only means within his choice so long as he remains in his present circumstances,—to address his thoughts and feelings to others."

We should have taken little notice of such writing as this had it been confined to the preface, which unfortunately it is not. On the fourth page, in a sermon on "God's Teaching our Example," we are told that "We are obligated for all we have, and can never rise above it, for we are ever dependent for the present and future and as well as for the past." Further on we read, "We live in an order of goodness; the resources of heaven to us are those of goodness, and our obligation in degree and quality is the same,"—the same as what? At page 49, in a sermon on "The Death of Moses the Event of Nebo," are these words:—"The place and manner of the death of men is a curious chronicle, and in this the most devoted of God's servants share the same fate as other men do." Now in what do the servants of God share the same fate as other men? Is it in the "curious chronicle," or in the "place and manner" of their death? We presume the author means in the latter; but is it particularly certain that God's servants die in the *same place* and in the *same manner* as other men do? Besides, if the writer means what we suppose he does, the demonstrative pronoun requires to be the plural *these*, and not the singular *this*. The whole sentence is awkward and obscure. In a sermon on "The Merchandise of Truth" (page 97), we read, "The noble of every age, like Moses, despised the riches of all alluring Egypts, for the sake of *The Truth as it is in Jesus;* and this is not amean, in sufficient end, for it comprehends all which fills and covers man in all his wants and relations." At page 129 it is said, "However we look at Christianity, it is the noblest ground to look at the calamities of life in its light and by its assistance. It is the brightest medium to ourselves personally, in the many sorrows which all of us have to pass more or less some time or other, and the most suitable and tender power to view the calamities of others." Such passages and sentences as these could be multiplied without end. The writer runs on, apparently unconscious of the need of anything like precision in the use of either words or phrases. Some excuse has been made for him on the ground that he is a Welshman who has not succeeded

in mastering the niceties of the English tongue; but the excuse is lame and insufficient. A man who has written as much in English as he has, ought not to write such sentences as those we have quoted.

But the prolixity of these sermons is in many instances as marked as the faulty construction of their sentences. Mr. Hughes makes a far too liberal use of language totally unsuited for sermons on divine truth (especially sermons to be delivered from the pulpit), and which, without any ill-feeling, we may call a stilted, philosophical jargon. He talks of *laws* and *order*, of *conditions* and *relations*, *abstractions* and *associations*, the *material* and the *moral*, without saying the moral and material *what;* until what with the frequent repetition of such words as these, and his otherwise obscure composition, together with his almost invariable practice of dividing his subjects into four or five separate propositions, and then running on into five, six, and sometimes seven minor propositions under each head, the relation of which to each other and the subject at large is not always peculiar and apparent,—until, we say, what with all these things, reading his sermons becomes a tedious business.

But our greatest complaint against these sermons arises from the lack of that positive evangelical teaching which surely, of all other persons, we had a right to expect from the lips of a Wesleyan minister. We are aware that we are here transgressing the limit of criticism prescribed by the author in the preface. He says, speaking of himself in the third person, "He will not anticipate the opinions and criticisms of the readers; only the book must be judged from what it does contain, and not from what it does not. No one volume can comprehend all subjects in the system of religious and moral truth." This last sentence is quite true, and we have no wish to find fault because the author has not discussed every subject of religion and morals in one volume. But he says he "will be satisfied if it will be acknowledged that the subjects in the volume are of importance, belonging to man as a moral and religious being; that they are elements of the moral government of God; and that he has treated them naturally, truthfully, and faithfully." Here we have all the liberty we want. We acknowledge the subjects to be of importance; we are a little at sea as to the sense in which they are elements of the moral government of God; that he has treated them naturally, truthfully, and faithfully, is more than we can say. We have, however, no desire to enter into these demands of the author minutely and categorically, in order to say precisely

wherein we cannot concede them. We only mean to affirm that he has not given sufficient prominence to the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel in those places where we most naturally look for them, and in places where they were most specially needed, in order to a full exposition of the subject in hand. Let us refer our readers to the sermon on "The Merchandise of Truth." At page 97, there is this paragraph:—"It is not only the end of all the good in nature, but also the ultimate purpose in God's dealings and dispensations to make men true. The highest compliment and recommendation Jesus gave to His own teaching was, *My word is truth.* The end of His life and death was to serve truth, and provide means to make men true. The Gospel has no higher end than this, and how can it have when God has no sublimer purpose in His work and Word toward men? In this, art, science, philosophy, are one with religion; their primary and highest end is to make men true, and when they depart from this, they become unfaithful to their legitimate mission," &c. Such sentences as these are provocative of almost every kind of criticism. First, as a matter of good taste, think of Christ *complimenting* and *recommending* His own truth. Then we are told that the Gospel has no higher end than to make men true; and that it cannot have, since God has no sublimer purpose in His work and Word toward men. But what is the Gospel but God's Word; and how can God have any sublimer purpose in His Word than there is in the Gospel which is itself His Word? But we are most concerned with the sentiments conveyed in these words—"*The end of Christ's life and death was to serve truth, and provide means to make men true. The Gospel has no higher end than this.*" Now we acknowledge that much here depends on what Mr. Hughes means by making men true. He would probably tell us that no man is really true until he is converted;—until therefore he has been penitent, and has sought and obtained forgiveness through Jesus Christ. But the most obvious signification of this is, that the end of Christ's life and death was to procure salvation; so that the explanation would amount to this, *that* only a saved man is a true man, and that a true man is ever a saved man; and if this be his meaning, why did he not say so, in order to avoid the misconception arising from the vague statement that "the end of Christ's life and death was to serve truth, and provide means to mak emen true?" But here is our dilemma: he says that in this end of making men true, "*art, science, philosophy, are one with religion,*" so that according to the explanation suggested above, "art, science, and philosophy," are one with religion in saving men's souls

Now, we know they are nothing of the kind, and Mr. Hughes would not say they are; but dealing simply and honestly with his written words, how are we to avoid the conclusion either that the Gospel makes men true only in the same sense that art, science, and philosophy make them true, which is false; or else that art, science, and philosophy make men true in the way in which the Gospel makes them true, which is equally false?

Theologically considered, the most unsatisfactory sermon in the book is that entitled "The Soul's Inquiry after a Personal God," from the text, "Oh, that I knew where I might find Him." Job xxiii., 3. The whole performance presents a fine field for criticism of all sorts; but we shall confine our observations to that lack of evangelical teaching, which is so characteristic of the volume, and of this sermon in particular, in which, more than in any other, we had every right to meet with it.

After a long and unnecessary introduction about the frequency of asking questions, the persons who ask them, and the motives with which they ask them, the sermon is divided into the following heads:—

First, "*The need of the soul of a personal God.*" Here, Pantheism is confusedly condemned on the one hand; and on the other, we are warned that the soul cannot rest in abstractions; and further on, under quite another head, we are told again that man "does not seek God in abstractions, but seeks the personal perfect One, and is satisfied that in finding Him he will find all true abstractions;" which certainly is very amazing.

The second head is "*The soul in search after a personal God.*" We thought when we came to this proposition we should be sure to meet with some satisfactory directions given by the preacher to the soul thus in search. Instead of this we find a good deal of what we know not how to designate. His first proposition being "the soul's conviction of its need of a personal God," or as he himself puts it, "*The need of the soul of a personal God;*" and his second, "The soul in search after a personal God;" there is at the outset a long paragraph, and then a short one setting forth the connection between a conviction of need and the putting forth of the efforts necessary to meet it. We are then told that the soul is not "confined to one place, or one mode (we suppose he means *kind*) of means in the search." "In the hand of the true seeker all means are made subordinate to the great purpose of seeking God." "The soul in this state (seeking state, we presume) seeks Him in itself

(though how the soul expects to find a personal God in *itself* we cannot imagine) and out of itself. It asks the stars by night the way to His footstool, and inquires of the laws and objects of the wide and variegated universe the path that leads to His throne. The old book is read, (this we understand to be the Bible, in which there are very clear directions how the anxious soul may find God, rendering all inquiries from the *stars* quite unnecessary) human society visited, the closet frequented, deep reflections and ponderings of heart are made, and all after one object—to know Him."

Now, whatever does Mr. Hughes mean by talking about the "soul seeking God in itself?" We know he belabours Pantheism, and we know he is no Pantheist, either material or moral. But in truth we have here just one little specimen of a kind of immaterial, moral, spiritual, æsthetic (we hardly know what to call it) pantheism, which largely, and to the author no doubt unconsciously, pervades this sermon. In proof of this let us refer our readers to a paragraph under the third head. It seems properly to belong to the second, but that is not our fault. At page 285 we read "God is sought in disguise under different forms and names, and even abstractedly. The seeker after knowledge is but feeling after Him under the character of light. The philospher seeks Him under the conditions of cause and law; the artist under the conception of the beautiful and the happy." But God's personality is not in knowledge; it is not identical with cause and law; it is not comprehended within any conception of the beautiful and happy formed by an artist. Mr. Hughes seems to feel the weakness of his position, for he ventures an explanation, which, in our judgment, is as bad as the original offence. "This," he says, "is an abstract seeking which *may not lead to a complete personal God* (the italics are ours); yet it is nevertheless a seeking of something beyond these in themselves, for all their devotees know full well that they cannot exist of themselves." We should be very glad if we could believe that literature, science, and art, were so decidedly religious even in their tendency as is here represented, and that their "devotees" were so eagerly seeking after God. Unfortunately there is just now a pretty general impression that science, at any rate, if not decidedly irreligious, is not, at least, religious in the sense in which an evangelical minister would like to see religion prevail; and while we think we can appreciate the glories of literature, science, and art, and the kind of service they are capable of rendering to Christianity, yet that they are mediums through which an anxious human soul ostensibly seeks to know and love God we utterly deny.

But we turn back a page or two to call attention to another paragraph under the second head. At page 283 we read, "There are times when the reality of sin is seen, and the soul feels itself exceedingly sinful and miserable on account of the testimony of self against self"—not, observe, on account of the testimony of God against the soul's sin. "Though in such a state a consciousness of a conviction of a just law is terrible, the soul feels it a relief to turn to the great Lawgiver for pardon and peace." We are not quite sure that we understand what is meant by the "consciousness of a conviction of a just law" being "terrible;" and we do not want to criticise blindly. Does it mean that the conviction that a just law exists, is a terrible thing, and that the soul is conscious of its own convictions, which is tautology? or, does it mean that the consciousness of being convicted by a just law is a terrible thing? which is different from what is said before, viz., that the soul feels itself exceedingly sinful and miserable, *on account of the testimony of itself against itself.* Whatever it may mean, we deny that it can be any relief to a soul in such distress to "turn to the great Lawgiver for pardon and peace," unless it turns to Him through the Son of His love, of whom as yet this same seeking soul seems never to have heard. Again, "Though the soul feels bitterly its guilt and its distance from God who is love, yet it believes there is mercy with Him if He only could be found." How does it know there is mercy with God? On what ground does it believe there is such a thing? How, indeed, and on what ground, except that of the Bible, which nevertheless, tells the soul as distinctly *how* He may be found as that He is merciful when he is found? If the soul believes there is mercy with God on any other authority than that of the Scriptures, it is presumption. If it believes it on that ground alone, which it must do before the belief can have any warrant, then this conclusion follows: that which alone has authority to assure us that there is mercy with God as distinctly assures us that His mercy is exercised only through the mediation of Christ, and that God is to be found through Christ and in no other way. Why therefore, all this hypothetical rhetoric, and why make this anxious sin-sick soul speak and feel as if it had never heard there was such a thing as a Bible in the world?

The third division of this sermon is "*The perplexity of the soul in its search after the personal God.*" Under this head we will give one more illustration of the defective character of this sermon, and then we will draw our remarks to a close. It occurs in a paragraph beginning at the bottom of the 285th

page, wherein the author sets forth the different forms under which the soul seeks after God:—

"The first form of seeking after God is in thought, in the effort the mind makes to conceive His existence in all His perfections as He is. The second search after Him is through the conscience, as a God of justice and mercy, by submitting to His law and order, and acknowledging self-sinfulness and unworthiness. The third way to seek after Him is through the sentiments of the heart, as an object of love and communion, a Father and a Friend. The fourth step (though it looks very like the second) is to seek Him as a God of order, by conformity with His will in all its demands and expressions. The last and highest form He is sought ("in," he should say) is" —through penitential sorrow for past sin, and humble faith in the precious blood of Christ, of course? Nothing of the kind. "The last and highest form He is sought is in the fulness and absolute incomprehensible perfections of all He desires and delights in."

We have no need to comment upon this amazing paragraph, neither have we any desire. Well may the author commence the very next paragraph by exclaiming, "But what perplexity the soul experiences in her search after the God of her salvation!" We keep wishing as we read that he would do something towards lessening the perplexity; but we wish nearly altogether in vain. Only in a few closing sentences is there a ray of light visible; and that he nearly extinguishes before he has done. In the meantime we are told, "thus the anxious soul, walking the foggy path of life in its journey to the unknown future (there are no Bibles in the country nor any pulpits) cries in the ear of high heaven, *O that I knew where I might find Him!* until it becomes a perplexity and a struggle. Oracles are consulted [where, we don't know], and all whom the soul comes into contact with are asked the way to Him; and when all fail to answer the question and solve the difficult problem, exhausted and weary, the soul, as the best resting-place, commits itself in humble faith, in mystery, to His care and guidance, and there it finds rest, comfort, and security,"—that is, the soul weary with the search after a personal God, commits itself to the care and guidance of Him whom it has hitherto sought in vain, and finds rest, comfort, and security in a God whom it has never found.

But our readers will think it time we had done. There are yet two more propositions in this sermon, both treated at considerable length, and both vulnerable at many points; but we

forbear further remarks. We have no charge of heterodoxy to bring against Mr. Hughes, nor would it be any compliment to him to tell our readers that in a volume of 350 pages there are many things valuable both in expression and sentiment; but he must know better, and we are sure he does know better, how to lead anxious souls to the throne of mercy and grace, than these sermons, especially those we have commented upon, would lead us to suppose. These sermons cannot, we are persuaded, do him justice as a minister belonging to a highly Evangelical Church; but that he may not be able to charge us with suppressing the only distinctively evangelical portion of the sermon we have just presumed to criticise, we will present our readers with its concluding paragraph. "He who cries, *Oh, that I knew where I might find Him!* let him not be discouraged; persevere, and you will be led to the throne of grace and mercy. Let the cry be an index of the sincerity of the heart, and an earnest of the perseverance of the soul, and He will be found; cry and search, and you will find. If you have not the best means in your possession, rise to the top of your opportunities, and the prize is yours. With the means and light you have, let the teaching of Jesus be listened to, who says—'*I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me. If ye had known me, ye should have known my Father also; and from henceforth ye know Him and have seen Him. Philip saith unto Him, Lord, shew us the Father, and it sufficeth us.*'" So far so good; only why does not Mr. Hughes give Christ's reply to the demand of Philip—"*He that hath seen Me hath seen the Father,*" and there leave the matter? But he shall have the last word. "This is the end, and the complement of our need—a divine Father. It is worth crying long and seeking much to find a Father, for in Him is the all in all we want now and for ever."

Mr. Hughes's case was fully discussed, for the third time, at the Conference lately held in Manchester. He defended himself and his sentiments in a lengthy speech which, the papers told us, was patiently and attentively listened to; but he could not convince his brethren that he was right and they were wrong. Nevertheless (and this was affirmed by the secretary of the Conference, the Rev. Luke Wiseman) his case was not considered by any means as one demanding expulsion. We should think not. There were indeed some members of Conference of great eminence who seem to have thought otherwise, and we can hardly doubt what the decision of the Conference would have been a few years ago. But the times are changed, and we are changed with them. The laws of the

Medes and Persians were for Medo-Persian times; and even Wesleyanism, in some of its forms, must yield before the strength of those liberal tendencies of the age which things stronger than Wesleyanism cannot resist. In the mean time, as some mitigation of the rigour of last year's punishment, Mr. Hughes is this year placed as a supernumerary under the supervision of a judicious superintendent. We wish him every blessing in his enforced retirement, and trust that if he favours us with another volume of sermons (and he has more in store) we may be able to speak of them more favourably than we have been able to do of those now before us.

H. L. T.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Laymen in Conference? By T. PERCIVAL BUNTING. Stock, 1871.

THE reader will remark that the title of this pamphlet is in the form of an interrogation. In this country there is only one ecclesiastical assembly bearing the name of conference from which laymen are excluded. The question here considered relates to that assembly. The inquiry is not,—shall laymen be retained in, or excluded from, the conferences where hitherto they have been? but, shall they be admitted into the one from which hitherto they have been jealously excluded? In other words, the question is raised by Mr. Bunting, whether laymen shall be permitted, in a regular, constitutional way, to enter the Wesleyan Conference, and take part with the ministers in transacting its business. And he answers the question as well as raises it—"*Throw the doors of Conference open to duly selected representatives of the laity.*"

We refer our readers to the pamphlet itself for the reasons by which the author arrives at his conclusion. They are given in detail, and will supply to many new and interesting information respecting the working of the Wesleyan system as now administered.

The action of laymen in conference is also to be attended with certain restrictions which are explicitly stated, and emphatically insisted upon. There is to be no interference with what is held to be the proper work of the ministry, described as consisting of "a separate order of men, divinely chosen and divinely qualified." The New Testament, he believes, lays down laws, or rather contains

certain indications, which make them responsible for the purity and competency of the members of their own order, and for the purity of the flock also. But he appeals also to the authority which, subordinately to the Sole Final Directory, is with (Wesleyan) Methodists conclusive on a subject like this, namely, to Mr. Wesley's Deed of Settlement. For his purpose he points out three things,—"First, the purity and competency of the Ministerial Order have been specially and most carefully confided by Wesley to the members of that order. No mixed assembly, therefore, should be suffered to intermeddle with questions relating to the admission or expulsion of ministers. Enquiries into doctrinal views, personal character, and general eligibility for our work,—everything which relates to the status of a minister as such,—are to be peremptorily excluded from lay interference." "Appointments to circuits and to connexional offices filled by ministers are within the same category." "And thirdly, I am not disposed to discuss whether it would be right or safe that questions relating to the admission or exclusion of officers or members of our societies should be committed to the final decision of a mixed body—that question was settled in 1852." Whether these restrictions are "just and indispensable" it is not our business to consider or decide.

Nor is it necessary that we should either describe or criticise the system of lay-representation sketched in the pamphlet. But the advice given in connection with it is worthy of being printed in letters of gold.

"Trust your people fully, if you trust them at all · · And trust *all* your people. Let all classes of your circuits share equally in whatever concessions may be made. Were this to be the last sentence I ever penned, I would most humbly but earnestly entreat all concerned,—beware that you do not create an aristocracy of better-class people, whether members, half-members, or non-members of our Church. Look for a large infusion into your mixed Conference of your average people. There are no such Christians in the world; none more competent, by intelligence and simplicity of aim, to take active part in your affairs."

The question of lay-representation in Conference is not taken up as one of principle but of practical expediency. Nor will Mr. B. allow that in advocating it he is setting up for an ecclesiastical reformer. Organic changes he would not promote, nor submit to without protest. Further, he deprecates the idea of suggesting the change in hope of re-uniting to the parent body any other section of Methodists, though if "they come to the conviction that it is their privilege to join us they will have a hearty and an unanimous welcome." This statement is followed by some very sensible strictures on the existing rage for the amalgamation of churches which we would

gladly transfer to our pages had we room. Most appropriately he asks, "And does no evil lurk at the bottom of these projects? It cannot escape notice that it is chiefly among the well-to-do and stronger bodies they find favour. Does it ever occur to the projectors that, mixed with many motives which they feel to be good and true, there may possibly insinuate themselves others not worthy? Is there no unsuspected craving after merely sectarian aggrandisement, no secret complacency with the idea of the increased worldly influence which every large religious organization in this country, often unfortunately for itself, acquires as it increases? For myself I am not anxious to see the world covered with mere Methodist gold-leaf—thin, useless, tawdry, perishable."

We shall wait with interest to see how Mr. B's proposition is received by the body to which it applies. We hope it will have from the ministers a calm and friendly consideration, for if the Conference could see its way to take some such step, apart from the question of an amalgamation of the Methodist communities altogether, we believe nothing would tend more to give that unity and prosperity to Methodism which all gathered into its fold must in their heart of hearts desire.

The Life of the Rev. Joseph Wood, with extracts from his diary. By H. W. WILLIAMS. Wesleyan Conference Office, 1871.

A memoir well adapted to quicken and stimulate a Methodist minister in his blessed yet ofttimes intensely arduous work. If all young men entering on the responsibilities of a minister's life would give it a careful perusal, themselves and the Church would be greatly benefitted thereby.

Life's True Beatitude; or, Who is Wise? A Poem. By the Rev. J. C. BASS. Wesleyan Conference Office.

THIS poem consists of four divisions, entitled—The Contrast—The Provision—The Work—The Conclusion. Under the first are two parts, one describing the folly of those who live for this world alone, the other illustrative of the sentiment that he is wise who wins souls. "The Provision" is a description of the Saviour's birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. "The Work" is a portraiture of the Christian ministry, its aim, method, and spirit; while the "Conclusion" in depicting the joy of the successful and accepted labourer further confirms the truth that the winner of souls is wise.

"Then, then the universe shall all confess,
That he who souls hath turned to righteousness,
And upward helped to yon celestial place,
That man is wisest of the human race."

These lines indicate not only the sentiment of the work, but also the character of its composition. It is beautifully printed on toned paper, and would form a suitable gift-book to any intelligent young person.

A Manual for Young Christians, being a guide to their path, postion, and service. By EDWARD DENNETT. Elliot Stock, 1871.

FOR young Christians in Baptist churches this is an excellent manual.

The Class-Leader's Assistant and Christian's Handbook, containing nearly 500 views of Christian doctrine, duty, experience,and practice, arranged for ready reference. With copious index. By JOHN BATE. Publishing in 12 parts, 2d. each. Stock.

THE title clearly and fully indicates the character and design of this work, and the name of the author is a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of the matter. If Methodist class-leaders would avail themselves of its help additional interest would doubtless thereby be given to their meetings.

Sacred Music as a Recreation. A few words to Musical people. Nisbet and Co., 1871.

THIS is a small tract of twenty-four pages, but we commend its strictures to the consideration of musical people who only regard music as a recreation.

John Wesley: His Life and his Work. By the REV. MATTHEW LELIEVRE. Translated by the REV. A. J. FRENCH, B.A. Wesleyan Conference Office. 1871.

IN every respect we have a word of commendation for this beautiful volume. Its getting up is most creditable to the Wesleyan Book Room, and the history of the life and work of Mr. Wesley it contains is written in a style becoming the subject. There are thousands of Methodist families into which Mr. Tyerman's work, on account of its size and price, will never be introduced, but all may possess this. We hope the work will have a circulation equal to its excellence.

Careless Daughters. A sermon to young women. By G. D. EVANS. Price one penny. Stock.

FOR its object a most admirable sermon. Could it be got into the hands of those for whose benefit it is intended, it might save the feet of many from falling into the saddest of sins, and their eyes from tears of bitterest remorse.

Wesley His Own Biographer. Being Illustrations of his Character, Labours, and Achievements. From his own Journals and Letters. With an Introduction by GEORGE STRINGER ROWE. Elliot Stock. 1871.

ANOTHER Life of Wesley! Yes, and who need complain of that? No one, while each publication contributes something to a clearer understanding and fuller appreciation of Mr. Wesley's life and labours. As the title indicates, this volume we now notice is written, or rather compiled, on a new plan. We wonder the idea has never been taken up and acted upon before, considering what ample materials existed for the purpose. "Wesley his own Biographer" will not, however, supersede any other Life of him, but it may advantageously supplement them all. It is a repertory of the leading events and facts in his stirring and useful life, given in his own words, which many will be glad to possess. The value of the volume is enhanced by a copious index.

The Earnest Methodist: A Memoir of the Late Mr. Thomas Dixon, of Grantham. By his Nephew, the REV. JOSEPH DIXON. London: Wesleyan Conference Office. 1871.

THE title of this neatly-executed little book at once recalled to our mind Dr. Chalmers's well-known definition of Methodism, and led us to look for a more than usual display of earnestness in its subject. We were not disappointed. Methodism has no greater want at the present time than the multiplication of such men as Mr. Dixon. Many, we have no doubt, will be grateful to his nephew for this loving memorial of him.

The following works have been received and will be noticed in our next issue:—The Third volume of Tyerman's "Life of Wesley;" "For Ever: an Essay on Eternal Punishment," by the Rev. M. Randles; "The Gospel Church," by H. Webb; "Must God Annihilate the Wicked," &c.; "Darwinism Refuted," by S. H. Laing (E. Stock, 1871); "Memoirs of the Rev. John Wesley Etheridge, M.A., Ph.D., including Extracts from his Writings, Correspondence, and Poetry," by the Rev. Thornby Smith.

THE METHODIST QUARTERLY.

DECEMBER, 1871.

ART. 1.—ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

For Ever. An Essay on Eternal Punishment. By the Rev. M. RANDLES. Wesleyan Conference Office, London. 1871.

Eternal Suffering of the Wicked. By R. GOVETT. James Nisbet and Co., London. 1871.

The Victory of Divine Goodness. By T. R. BIRKS, M.A. Rivington's, London, Oxford, and Cambridge. 1870.

Eternal Punishment and Eternal Death. An Essay. By JAMES WILLIAM BARLOW, M.A. Longman's, London. 1865.

The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment. By HENRY CONSTABLE, A.M., Prebendary of Cork. Third Edition. Longman's, London. 1870.

The Rainbow. A Magazine of Christian Literature, with special reference to the revealed future of the Church and the World. Vol. VI. W. Kent and Co., London. 1869.

THE controversy now agitating the Christian Church as to Eternal Punishment is creating a literature of its own. Opponents of the doctrine state that it is extensively disbelieved. The scepticism, it is said,* is not confined to "sceptics," but is professed by men of "knowledge" and "piety," and though a "few earnest, and able, and unquestionably sincere" men—as Dr. Pusey, Dr. Salmon, of Dublin, and the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel—still hold the orthodox belief, yet "English religious society" has undergone an "immense revolution in opinion" as to the destiny of men.

We strongly doubt these wholesale statements. We believe that a few minds are unsettled on the subject; for the

* The Rainbow, vol. vi., p. 298.

rest we suspect a spirit of enquiry is confounded with a spirit of scepticism. As to "religious society," it has a trick of disappointing the calculations of sanguine controversialists.

Very gladly do we place Mr. Randles's timely book "For Ever," at the head of our list. We regard it as a very valuable contribution to the orthodox side of the controversy. It consists of upwards of three hundred pages, and is divided into eight chapters, the two first of which are introductory to the main subject, treating of its importance, and of the sources of knowledge. In the remaining chapters the writer discusses the direct testimony of Scripture, looks at the subject as viewed in the light of God's character, in the light of Christ's mediation, and in relation to human sympathy, and further examines the alternative theories of Annihilation and Restoration. In the last chapter he draws his practical conclusions, and in the Appendix he criticises the Rev. T. R. Birks's "Victory of Divine Goodness." The treatment is thorough, and the style free and popular. The author reasons well, and attacks cautiously. Old arguments re-appear, but are re-set, and used with tolerable success against the positions of his opponents. We do not say there are no flaws in his reasonings and Biblical criticisms; but on the whole, the book is a comprehensive and satisfactory, yet condensed discussion of the orthodox doctrine, and would form an excellent text-book for Christian students.

Mr. Govett's work is also on the orthodox side, as also is Mr. Birks's. Mr. Govett is a pre-millenarian, and a believer in literal fire as the medium of punishment. His work consists of five chapters, in which he discusses Eternal Punishment, the Nature of the Destruction of the Wicked, Life and Death, the Immortality of the Soul, and the Character of God. He displays a complete mastery of the Scriptures, his references to them being almost innumerable. His style is short, sharp, and effective, and his treatment of the various subjects displays considerable mental aptness in perceiving the weak points in an argument. He follows up the scent when discovered with the tenacity of a bloodhound. Mr. Birks's book has met with considerable adverse criticism, without, we think, adequate cause. He broaches his peculiar view, which we shall have occasion to notice further on, in a letter to an enquiring friend on Future Punishment, in an Essay on the Atonement, and in one on Eternal Judgment; also, in a Reply to Recent Strictures; all of which form a part of the above volume. Mr. Birks is well known as a writer and able exponent and defender of orthodox truth, and all that we need now to

remark is, that the present volume gives evidence of careful thought on this great subject. We are not disposed hastily to bring in a verdict of "heterodox" against a man who has laboured so faithfully in the cause of evangelicism, and who has matured his views after many years' meditation and study.

The remaining works are the productions of Annihilationists. Mr. Barlow's book, consisting of nearly two hundred pages, is a scholarly production, a great part of which discusses Eternal Punishment in relation to Ethics. Some consequences of believing the doctrine are traced, the Scriptural evidence passes under review, the origin of the doctrine is sought, and its abolition is considered as to its probable effect on morality, and in reference to the evidences of revealed religion. Mr. Constable's work is a pamphlet of about eighty pages, and he passes in review the same topics generally. The Rainbow contains several papers by Mr. W. Maude, Mr. Constable, and others, to which we shall have occasion to refer.

One thing in particular has struck us in reading the writings of the opponents of Eternal Punishment, and that is, the extreme bitterness of their tone. They cannot keep back the *odium theologicum*. They almost treat their opponents with contempt, and often write in a strain which is altogether out of harmony with the sacredness and importance of their theme. This not only detracts from their dignity, but it lessens the value of their reasonings.

Several points, we have observed, are quietly assumed by the opponents of Eternal Punishment as being involved in the orthodox doctrine, to which we, in common with the orthodox generally, take exception. It may be as well, for the sake of clearness, to mention them.

1. *That material fire will be the medium of punishment.* Some believe it will, but more believe it will not. Neither view can be called the orthodox belief.

2. *That the majority of the human race will be eternally punished.* Mr. Barlow tells us that orthodoxy is committed to this belief![*] From this statement we dissent, as being contrary to fact. Orthodoxy does not forbid difference of opinion on this point, nor does the orthodox doctrine logically involve it.

3. *That the wicked must enter upon Eternal Punishment, in its fullest extent, immediately after death.* The views, however, of good and thoughtful men among the orthodox

[*] "Eternal Punishment," p. 6.

differ on this point as their views of the intermediate state differ. Orthodoxy is certainly committed to the view of immediate misery after death, but it does not dogmatize as to the degree of it.

4. *That all who endure Eternal Punishment will have to endure the same degree of it.* The opponents of Eternal Punishment have taken the most exaggerated statement they could find in sermon literature—as, for instance, that there are in hell infants a span long—and have argued from that as a specimen of the whole. But we refuse to accept or defend the representations of this doctrine as found in sermons (as a rule). Some have undoubtedly gone to the extreme of believing in literal fire, into which the wicked, without exception, are to be cast to writhe and seethe in utmost burning agonies for ever; and others have as undoubtedly gone to the extreme of believing in what is tantamount to no punishment at all, either the Annihilation * or Restoration of the wicked at some period in the future. Each view may be combated, but on its own ground; neither must be included in orthodoxy. We would avoid both extremes.

There are four topics we would draw chief attention to in this article:—The question of immortality, of "life" and "death," of the duration and nature of future punishment.

I.—The Immortality of the Soul.

The opinions of the ancients as to Eternal Punishment are altogether unreliable. The common people seem to have had the fear of the gods before their eyes, and the learned and influential men of the day seem sometimes to have encouraged such fear, chiefly for political reasons, and at other times discouraged it for the same reasons. The Epicureans ignored a Providence and a future existence, and the Stoics' view of Divine goodness did not allow of Divine punishment. Evil was its own punishment. Altogether, the views of the thinkers of old were sadly uncertain, and count for nothing in this controversy. Their reasonings, however, as to the nature of

* We use the word "Annihilation," at the request of Mr. Constable (see Rainbow, vol. vi., p. 405), *not* in its philosophical sense of absolute reduction to nothingness, but as thus interpreted by himself:—"The entire being of the wicked—say matter animated by spirit—will cease to exist in its organization" (p. 406). This Mr. Constable would rather call "destruction," for obvious reasons. We believe, however, that "destruction" is not the term to apply to such a doom, because the Scriptures do not so teach us in its use of the word. The right word is "Annihilation," the philosophical sense notwithstanding.

the soul approached marvellously near to the truth.* Undoubtedly they had some effect upon Christian or revealed truth; but Mr. Constable goes so far as to inform us that the doctrine of Eternal Punishment has its origin in Plato's doctrine of the immortality of the soul. His words are :—

"This sublime philosophical idea passed readily and early into the theology of the Christian Church. We find it running throughout the reasoning of Athenagoras and Tertullian, of Origen and Augustine. . . . . Connect the immortality of the soul with the Scriptural doctrine of the eternity of punishment,† and you inevitably create the dogma of eternal life in misery,‡ i.e., *of Augustine's hell.*" ||

This is tantamount to saying that orthodox Christian thinkers, in interpreting the Scriptures as teaching Eternal Punishment, are placing them lower in their estimation than the medley of conflicting opinions current among old philosophers,—in other words, that we destroy the high character of the Scriptures as a revelation of truth additional to the truth we can legitimately derive from the study of nature and ourselves. We can safely appeal to our history for disproof of this implication. If any set of men in the world have exalted the Scriptures as a Divinely inspired book, and as containing truth that neither nature nor philosophical nor poetic genius could possibly give us, it is the set of men known as evangelical. We have always refused to make Plato our father and his philosophisings our gospel. Nor are we so prejudiced in

* "The distinct, and, as it was called, immaterial nature of the soul was insisted on by the ancients with great emphasis as the chief proof of its immortality. If mind be but a function of matter, if thought be but 'a material product of the brain,' it seems natural that the dissolution of the body should be the annihilation of the individual. . . . . That there exists in man an indivisible being, connected with but essentially distinct from the body, was the position which Socrates dwelt upon as one of the chief foundations of his hopes in the last hours of his life, and Cicero in the shadow of his age; and the whole moral system of the school of Plato was based on the distinction." (Lecky's "History of Rationalism," vol. i., p. 369.)

† Mr. Constable, with other Annihilationists, believes that the Scriptures teach eternal punishment; but he means that Annihilation will be eternal, because the subjects of it will eternally cease to be!

‡ To call the doctrine of Eternal Punishment "eternal life in misery," "immortal life in hell," &c., as is frequently done, is a plain perversion of it, and the use of such phrases betrays a bad spirit and intention. "Eternal life" is never in Scripture applied to the wicked, and the orthodox never use the phrase as applicable to the lost.

|| "The Duration and Nature of Fu. Pun," p. 5. Mr. Constable's italics.

favour of, or committed to, his teachings that we cannot impartially and ingenuously interpret the Scriptures for ourselves in this matter. Where human thinking and research, pursuing their own methods of discovering truth, run parallel with the Scriptures, we rejoice in their company; but we do not intend following them on this subject where their paths diverge from the path of Scripture. We must not close the studio of the artist because we can freely ramble amongst the loveliest of earth's scenery: nor must we stop the processes of reasoning and science because we have truth "dropped from the clouds."

Whether or not, apart from the Scriptures, we have sufficient evidence to lead us to a belief in our immortality, it is difficult to decide. He must be a bold man, however, who says that the evidence has little or no force. That evidence (as is well known) includes universal belief (except when some previously entertained dogma necessitates its denial),—universal aspiration, or the instinct of being,—our capacity for a more fully developed life than this,—the possession of moral powers, including conscience, with which is connected the argument drawn from inequality of rewards and punishments,—and the immateriality of the soul. Mr. Barlow affirms that the reasonings of Plato, Cicero, and Butler on this subject "amount to little more than this,—that, after all, it is *not absolutely impossible* that something may survive the shock of death;"* and Mr. Constable says, "The immortality of the soul, whether as held by Plato, by Origen, or by the Fathers in general, was a mere fancy of the human mind. · · · It was, as Pliny justly called it, a figment." † These sweeping statements seem to us to carry their own refutation. To say that the conclusions of human reason only lead us to think that immortality is "not absolutely impossible," and that such a doctrine is a "mere fancy of the human mind," a "figment," is certainly below the truth. The evidence allows at least of strong probabilities, and no result of patient investigation and impartial reasoning can justly be called a "fancy of the human mind."

To say that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul (not Platonic as to its origin, for many believed it before Plato) is the hinge of this controversy is a mistake. Yet, on this point strong things have been said. We have seen that Mr. Constable ascribes the origin of the orthodox doctrine to it; Mr. Maude says it "involves" it; ‡ Dr. Leask, the Editor of the Rainbow, § Mr. Henry Dunn, ‖ and the Rev. Samuel Minton,

* "Eternal Punishment," p. 142. Mr. Barlow's italics.
† "Duration and Nature of F. P.," p. 7. ‡ Rainbow, vol. vi, p. 115.
§ Rainbow, vol. vi, p. 482. ‖ "What I have Written," p. 7.

M.A. * add their testimony to the same effect. But this outcry among the Annihilationists, to the effect that the doctrine of the immortality of the soul is the sole foundation of Eternal Punishment, is simply an attempt to bring a philosophical question into greater prominence than the Scripture question, while yet the Scriptures are apparently honoured with the chief regard. The very attempt is itself a sign of considerable weakness in the position of the Annihilationists, inasmuch as it is in part a confession that the Scriptures do not favour their views until the theory of what is ambiguously called *the natural mortality of man* is brought to them and employed as a canon of interpretation. Their position is still further weakened by their inconsistency. Concerning the immortality of the saved they admit that the Scriptural evidence is quite sufficient, and the philosophical question of the immortality of the soul is silently accepted. But concerning the immortality of the lost, the Scriptural evidence is nothing, and the philosophical question is everything! They immediately fly from Christ and His Apostles, and gathering round Plato and his disciples, and hearing them discoursing of the immortality of the soul, they return to shout in the ears of Christendom, "Ah! here is the horrid doctrine which leads to such horrid results; no wonder men believe in an eternal hell when they believe in the immortality of the soul!" And so the Scriptures cannot be so much as allowed a voice in this matter of Eternal Punishment until philosophy has decided whether or not we are constituted immortal beings. We need hardly say that this is a mere controversial device, unworthy of such a momentous subject, and of the men who use it. If the philosophical question *is* of prime importance, not only must the Scriptures stand aside to await our decision in the case of the lost, but also in the case of the saved. The mere *ipse dixit* of a few men cannot make it all important in the one case, and of no importance at all in the other. If it is important at all, it is of equal importance in both cases. To us the Scriptural doctrine of Eternal Punishment involves the immortality of the soul, even as the Scriptural doctrine of Eternal Life involves it. But, says Mr. Maude,

"We altogether refuse, as Mr. Ker has justly said, 'to reason backward from the supposed eternity of hell torments to the original formation of man.' The reasonable and logical method is exactly the reverse of this. Let it first be proved on its own proper grounds, as against our negative argument, that man is naturally an immortal

* "The Way Everlasting," p. 81.

being: let it be proved, secondly, as against our positive argument, that immortality in Christ is not the doctrine of the New Testament, and then, so far as we are concerned, we shall . . . . confess at once that our whole theory is scattered to the winds." *

This is dialectical skill, but not ingenuous reasoning. We also believe that eternal life in Christ only is the doctrine of the New Testament, and Mr. Maude knows it; but we do not believe that the New Testament teaches that our *existence* in a future life is dependant upon the acceptance of Christ. We also believe that immortality is the gift of God—and whether given in our constitution or as an act of grace is matter of little or no moment to our argument,—and Mr. Maude knows this too; but we do not believe that the gift of immortality is bestowed upon the saved and withheld from the lost. The Annihilationists must at least believe that the soul is naturally capable of eternally-continued existence; else eternal life in Christ would not be a possibility. We contend for no more in the case of the lost. Their souls are likewise naturally capable of eternally-continued existence. Indeed, to concede to the soul a *capacity* for endless existence seems like conceding the *fact* of it. The one without violence to thought follows the other. It would certainly be difficult to show why a soul that is capable of living for ever should be cut off in the development of its capability, even as it would be difficult to show why a soul that is capable of intelligence should be cut off in the development of that grand attribute.

To say that the penalty of sin is the loss of immortality, and the reward of holiness is the continued possession of it, is to involve God in a violently unnatural method of procedure. An infant is born and dies, and the weeping mother consoles herself with the thought that it is annihilated! "No," says the Annihilationist; "it will have the gift of immortality conferred upon it, in consequence of the atonement of Christ." But the Annihilationists affirm that "death," in the Scriptures, means *loss of existence*, and we very much mistake if the logical outcome of such a statement is not annihilation at death. Robert Roberts, of Birmingham, the Meterialistic-Annihilationist, simply carries to its logical result the faith of all annihilationists. But we will suppose the infant to live twenty years. He then sickens and dies, and the mother may then consign her boy, just expanding into the glories of manhood, and thick with budding graces, to the grave, believing he is, or at some time in the future will be, Annihilated. "Certainly," says the Annihila-

* Rainbow, vol. vi, p. 132.

tionist, "if he had not previously believed in Christ."' Then as an infant he had a certain immortality before him at death; but as a youth a certain annihilation stares him in the face as his life-pulse wavers into the stillness of death. How is that? "Because, when he wilfully sinned, he lost his right to an immortal existence." And when does he gain it again? "When he believes in Christ, of course." Then immortality is a something which we possess as infants, but which we may lose as youths, and gain and lose again if we believe in Christ, and lose again if we fall from grace, and gain and lose again and again in the course of a long life? "Certainly." But we ask, is immortality,—so vital a thing as immortal existence,—a something which one thinks of, when it is thought of at all, as an attribute and not an accident of our nature,—is this attribute of immortality to be bandied about in this ridiculous way, in this violently unnatural manner? We have only to substitute any other attribute of our nature for that of immortality, as conscience, judgment, or imagination, to see at once its utter absurdity. We are not assuming what we ought to prove,—the immortality in question; for we are arguing from the position of our opponents, that immortality is an attribute of some though not of all men, and of all men at some but not at all times. Nor are we laying ourselves open to the retort, "But you bandy about a something of greater worth than immortality, even the love of God and holiness, which, you say, may be gained and lost many times;" for the human will *may* reject holiness, but it *cannot* reject existence. So that if Mr. Maude persists in saying he refuses to go back from the eternity of punishment to the question of immortality or endless existence,* and we say we refuse to go back from the eternity of the life of the saved to the same question, we meet one argument with a counter-argument, and so destroy its force; but what then? The result is we are both at a complete dead-lock, and can get no further; evidence sufficient that we are both wrong and must retrace our steps.

* There are three passages in which the word *Athanasia* (immortality) is used. In two of them it is said we are to put it on (1 Cor. xv. 53, 54), and in the third it is affirmed that God only hath immortality (1 Tim. 6. 16). The word *Aphtharsia*, the general meaning of which is "incorruption," occurs in eight passages. In two of them (Rom. ii. 7 and 2 Tim. i. 10) it is translated "immortality," and in two others (Eph. vi. 24, and Titus ii. 7) "sincerity." In the remaining four we are said to be raised in incorruption, to inherit incorruption, and to put on incorruption (1 Cor. xv. 42, 50, 53, 54). The adjective *Aphthartos* (immortal) occurs seven times. In 1 Tim. i. 17 it is translated "immortal," and in Rom. i. 23 "uncorruptible," both referring to God. In the remaining passages it is translated "incorruptible" (1 Cor. ix. 25; xv. 52; 1 Peter i. 4, 23; iii.

Scattered up and down the writings of Annihilationists is the assertion that the Scriptures do not teach the immortality of the soul. The phrase, we admit, is not to be found there, nor are the phrases "extinction of being," "non-existence," "ceasing to be." The Scriptures, however, teach us most plainly, that the soul or spirit exists after death,* and not the least hint is to be found anywhere that it will ever cease to be. They speak of the immortality of the body, implying that the body has lost it; they do not speak of the immortality of the soul, implying that the soul has not lost it. They teach us that all men shall be raised from the dead, or that man, as man, shall exist in the future world,† and this teaching is unaccompanied with any intimation that man, as raised, will ever cease to be. They also teach us that there is an eternity of rewards in heaven for the righteous, and an eternity of punishment in hell for the unrighteous.‡ Each of these revealed truths involves the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. To use the words of the Rev. Mr. Randles :—

"Such immortality granted, it becomes a foundation-stone of an argument for eternal punishment. But, *not* granted, the doctrine of endless punishment, proved by the testimony of Scripture, remains, and becomes the foundation-stone of an argument for the immortality of the soul. Both lines of reasoning are sound; the first making the doctrine of the soul's immortality subservient to that of eternal punishment; the second resting the truth of eternal punishment on direct revelation, and from that inferring the soul's immortality."§

Mr. Maude states ‖ that all the Annihilationists agree to maintain :—1. That man is, as to his whole nature, a mortal creature; 2. That the doctrine of the New Testament is immortality only in Christ; 3. That the language of Scripture, bearing on the subject of future punishment, can on the whole

4), and refers respectively to a crown, the dead, an inheritance, the seed by which we are born again, and a meek and quiet spirit. The Annihilationists (see Mr. Maude, *Rainbow*, vol. vi. p. 121) apply these words to believers in Christ only, and interpret them as teaching their endless existence in the future world. But they evidently refer, as Mr. Govett teaches (pp. 161, 162), rather to our liability to death, as living, and to our subjection to corruption, as dead,—in other words, to *states* of existence than to *existence* proper. The fact that they all refer to that which is ever bright and blooming confirms this view.

* 1 Samuel xxv. 1; and xxviii. 15.; Matt. x. 28; Luke xvi. 19—31.; Jude 7; 2 Pet. ii. 9; Acts ii. 29—34.

† Acts xxiv. 15; Dan. xii. 1, 2; John v. 28—29; 1 Cor. v. 20—28.

‡ Matt. xxv. 46. § "For Ever," pp. 24647. ‖ *Rainbow*, vol. vi., March.

be, without violence, interpreted in harmony with the two preceding propositions. As to the first, the Annihilationists are unable to say when and how man, in his whole nature, succumbs to his mortality. Mr. Constable and others say that we survive death. They resort to a theory of Annihilation; but Annihilation is not mortality. Dr. Parker's theory of "terminableness" looks something like mortality; but Dr. Parker loses sight of the fact that mortality, as affecting the body, is the result of *sin*, and no one can read the works of the opponents of Eternal Punishment without feeling painfully conscious that their views are conflicting as to the effect of sin upon the spirit. As to the second proposition, it is ambiguous and mischievous. It is *ambiguous*, as confounding existence with the re-uniting of body, soul, and spirit in the resurrection, and as interpreting generally the Scriptural words "life" and "death" respectively as *being* and *non-being*. It is true that there is immortality only in Christ, both in a general and particular sense; in a general sense, because all men in consequence of Christ's redemption shall be raised from the dead,* and in a particular sense, because the just shall inherit "eternal life," which phrase Mr. Maude admits,† does not mean *merely* endless existence, but something more and better,—an admission which vitiates much of the reasoning of the Annihilationists. The second proposition is *mischievous*, as confusing the thought of the religious world, and increasing the difficulties of Biblical exegesis by using well-known and well-defined terms in a sense different from the common one, as giving the public the false impression that the orthodox do not believe the doctrine of immortality only in Christ, as encouraging men to adhere to the use of language which does not sufficiently discriminate between conflicting views, and as sanctioning the pernicious hope in the hearts of sinners that the future will not be so dreadful as the Scriptures declare it will be. The third proposition is, on the face of it, an attempt to enlist the Scriptures on the side of a pre-conceived theory—a method of procedure which every honest biblical critic must condemn.

*1 Cor. xv. 21—22. Mr. Constable, and some others, refer this passage to the just only (*Rainbow*, vol. vi. p. 354.). But we believe without any justification whatever (See *Meth. Quar.* for June, 1871, pp. 99-101). Mr. Birks and Mr. Govett also give to the passage an universal application: ("Victory of Divine Goodness," p. 168; "Eternal Suffering of the Wicked;" p. 155).

† *Rainbow*, vol. vi., p. 122. ‡ Ibid, p. 409.

II.—As to the Meaning of "Life" and "Death," in Scripture.

Does "life" mean *existence* merely, and never *holiness and bliss*, or a *religious state* of the spirit? And do "death," "perishing," "destruction," &c., mean *annihilation*, and never an *irreligious state* of the spirit, or the loss of God's favour here and hereafter? That "life" means existence, and "death" non-existence, is continually asserted by Annihilationists.‡ But Mr. Govett, in his chapter on "Life and Death" gains an easy victory on this point. His observations are discriminating, clear, forcible, and convincing. In Scripture the "soul" (*psychē*) is spoken of as being laid down and taken up again; as being sought, found, and lost; as feeling sorrowful, and being troubled; as not being left in hell; as being divided from the spirit, and warred against, and as prospering and being purified.* But "life" (*zoē*), in Scripture, is spoken of as a state or condition which may be "entered into," "inherited," "hid" or "brought to light," "reaped," "promised," "hoped for," and to which we may be "led on."† To quote Mr. Govett (p. 107) :—

"'When all things abound to a man *his life* is not one of his possessions:' Luke xii., 15. *(Greek).* But his *soul is*. *Life* is to be enjoyed in the age to come: Mark x., 30. But the *soul* is possessed now. *Life* is to be sought from Christ; but not our *soul*: John v. 40; x. 10, 28. *Life* is Christ's gift to His elect: the *soul* is possessed by the lost as well as by the saved: John xvii. 2. We are said to pass, on believing, from one state of the soul and spirit—"death," to another state—"life:" John v. 24; 1 John iii. 14.

"Sometimes the two words occur together in the same sentence, and then their difference is clearly seen. The hater of 'his *soul* in this world shall keep it unto eternal *life*:'" John xii. 25.

These references are quite sufficient to show that the "soul" (*psychē*) may exist with or without a certain kind of "life" (*zoē*). What does "life" (*zoē*) mean? Mr. Govett (p. 113) says, "While we in English use 'life' in the sense of bare existence, the Scripture means by 'life' and specially by 'eternal life' in its New Testament sense, 'eternal bliss,'" or, we would add, a religious state of the soul and spirit." He quotes Archbishop Trench as saying, "Whatever truly lives, does so because sin has never found place in it, or having

* Matt. xx. 28; John x. 15, 18; Matt. ii. 20; x. 39; xvi. 25; Mark xiv. 34; John xii. 27; Acts ii. 27; Heb. iv. 12; 1 Pet. ii. 11; 3 John 2; 1 Pet. i., 22.

† Matt. xviii. 8, 9; xix. 29; 2 Tim. i. 10; Gal. vi. 8; 1 John ii. 25; Tit. i. 2; Matt. vii. 14.

found place for a time, has been expelled from it again. So soon as ever this is felt and understood, *zoē* at once assumes the profoundest moral significance; *it becomes the fittest expression for the very highest blessedness.*"

This point, however, is practically conceded by the opponents of Eternal Punishment. Mr. Maude says,‡ "It is of course fully admitted that when the Scriptures speak of the eternal life of the righteous, they do not intend *merely* endless existence." This admission prevents opponents describing the orthodox doctrine as "eternal life in hell;" it necessitates a more circuitous route to the blackest of all darknesses,—annihilation; it involves also the opposite orthodox truth that death, in Scripture, does not mean loss of existence, but loss of a certain state of existence.

That "death" is not to be taken in an absolute sense, as meaning the extinction of being, is equally clear. Mr. Govett (p. 122) divides death into death as the *point of transit*, and death as the *state*. In the former sense, he states, it is spoken of "the movement of the soul out of the body, which takes place at a certain definite instant,"* and as such is called an "end," a "dissolution," a "departure," and an "unclothing."†

‡ *Rainbow* vol. vi. p. 122.

* In an article on "What is Death?" in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1871, by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, three replies are given to the question. The first answer is, that Death is to the Ego simple Dissolution, or Annihilation,—the breaking up of the Ego, and consequent dissipation of the personality. This is the answer of pure Materialism, and, says the Bishop, is most engaging the attention of scientific men. The second answer is, that Death is to the Ego, Resolution, by which is to be understood the resolution of "the forces which had been united previously with varying degrees of closeness into their component parts," so that "the personality which was felt and recognized during their union and interaction, ceases to be either felt or recognized on their complete resolution. The Ego is not, strictly speaking, broken-up, or dissipated, but it simply ceases to be." This is the current answer of Pantheism. The third answer is, that Death is to the Ego, an Outgoing, a departure of the immaterial Ego from its material environment, and this "takes place when from decay or unusual external action the natural and chemical forces within the organism fail in their adjustment (to use the language of Mr. Spencer) to the relations in the environment." This, says the Bishop, is the old and popular answer, which is supported by the continued agreement of the more enlightened portion of mankind,—a "form of evidence which no reasonable man will be disposed to set aside or undervalue." The Bishop presents to us in this article the ripest results of scientific and philosophic thought in relation to his subject, and it is remarkable how he is led by a consideration of those results to the Scriptural view of Death,—to that received by the Christian Church of all ages, and given by Mr. Govett above, viz., that Death is, not the extinction of the Ego, but the Ego in a certain state.

† John iv. 47; Mark v. 23; Matt. ix. 18; John xix. 30; Matt. ii. 15, 19; Acts ii. 29; 2 Cor. v. 1; Phil. i. 23, 24; 2 Tim. iv. 6; 2 Cor. v. 2—9.

The latter sense of death as the state necessarily follows; for, as Mr. Govett says (p. 123), "Let it be once granted, that soul (and spirit) exist after death, and then death is in no case absolutely non-existence."

That death means the loss of something is easily believed; but the being who loses something and that which is lost are two different things, and must not be confounded. When natural death ensues, natural life is lost; when moral death ensues, moral life is lost; when eternal death ensues, eternal life is lost. The question is, Do these kinds of death, separately or unitedly, involve the extinction of being, *per se*, in any case? Does the Ego cease to be? Is there no room for the distinction between the Ego and the Ego in certain states? The facts that the Scriptures speak of man as dying to holiness, and as still living though dead in trespasses and sins (Eph. ii. 1),—that Adam continued in existence, though he died upon eating of the forbidden tree,—that while still existing we begin to live in Christ,—that after natural death we continue to exist in the Hades state,—are sufficient to prove this distinction, at least to candid theologians. When we ask, *What* becomes non-existent at death, actual being, or a state of being? the Annihilationists inevitably drift into distinctions, which, followed out to their logical result, necessitate the acceptance of the common view. They say that death means "non-existence;" but they will not allow the orthodox to take "non-existence" in its absolute sense, failing to see that the only logical alternative is, *states of existence*. It must be one or the other. There is no choice between the Materialist's view—that death is the non-existence of the Ego, and the orthodox view—that death is the non-existence of a state of the Ego.

Certain ingenious expedients are resorted to. The Scriptures cannot be interpreted to teach annihilation at death; and when we ask, When are the wicked to be annihilated? the replies of Annihilationists are very conflicting. They generally agree, however, in the reply, "After they have undergone their term of suffering." This, of course, involves their resurrection from the dead. Here are several improbable things. 1. That God should raise a man from the dead in order to annihilate him at some future time. The Materialist's view is more satisfactory and consistent by far. That man should become non-existent in a piece-meal fashion grates on one's feelings. If annihilation is the "course of nature," and the expedient of a moral governor, such a view of it presents to us a bungling moral administration. 2. If the first death is not annihilation, it is extremely improbable that there

will be any annihilation at all. If it is right for us to argue from the known to the unknown we may certainly come to this conclusion. 3. If Eternal Punishment is repugnant to human feelings, and opposed to the goodness of God (as it is affirmed to be), it is extremely improbable that God will raise the wicked to endure punishment for ages of ages, the whole to be finished by an act of annihilation. All tirades against Eternal Punishment come with bad grace from men who *know not when* the sufferings of the wicked will end in annihilation.

Mr. Barlow resorts to another expedient. We will give it in his own words:—

"It is not the question of Future Punishment after death; it is not the question of Eternal Death itself; but it is the question of Everlasting Life in Sin and Torture, as the doom awaiting a large portion of the sentient creation of God, which is really at issue. . . . . The three dogmas, that of Future Punishment, that of Eternal Death, and that of Eternal Punishment, though usually confounded, are perfectly and totally distinct."*

Aided by these distinctions, Mr. Barlow is able to affirm that St. Paul and St. John do not teach the doctrine of Eternal Punishment. More,—"that *St. Paul was unacquainted with the doctrine.*"† *But do they teach Eternal Death?* Mr. Barlow's answer is, "The Scriptural evidence, not only for future punishment, but also for eternal death, is, indeed, copious and unmistakeable." What if Eternal Death is *Eternal Punishment?* To say that it is not, is (1) a misuse of words, (2) a misinterpretation of Scripture, and (3) a mere expedient to escape a difficulty. It is well known that the phrases "Eternal Punishment," "Eternal Death," and "Future Punishment," are used by the orthodox to indicate the same doctrine, that of punishment for ever in the future world. To attach a different meaning to each of these phrases, and classify Scripture accordingly, is an ingenious expedient; but no more. Mr. Barlow's distinctions are arbitrary distinctions, invented for a purpose. We have no hesitation in saying that the whole of his case rests on this rotten foundation. The fact that his distinctions are unnecessary and unscriptural is a refutation of his whole work.

III.—As to the Duration of the Punishment.

The agitation of this question has done good by calling the attention of scholars to the meaning and use of the original

* "Eternal Punishment and Eternal Death," p. 2; also pp. 65, 68.

† "Eternal Punishment and Eternal Death," p. 80, Mr. Barlow's italics For disproof of his statement, see 2 Thess. i. 9; ii. 8—12; Phil. iii. 19; 2 Cor. xi. 15; Rom. ii. 8, 9; Gal. v. 21; vi. 8.

words for eternity and eternal. Important admissions have already been made, which practically settle the point in dispute. Mr. William Miall quotes* the Rev. J. Howard Hinton as believing in the proper eternity of *aiōn*, but disagrees with him. Constable has fully admitted the proper eternity of the adjective *aiōnios* (eternal). As his words are very important we quote them:—

"In the meaning attached to this term (*aiōnios*), coupled with the philosophical idea of the soul's inalienable immortality, is the stronghold of the Augustinian school. We can easily refute them on the latter point, but in the former, as appears to me, their position is impregnable. All arguments, from whatever source drawn, are sophistical, and are felt to be so. And here many writers on our side afford them a triumph. They expend time, and pains, and learning, in attempting to establish a point which the true scholarship of their opponents tell them they always fail in establishing. Let us give up this argument. . . . . The word *aiōnios* would appear to signify *the entire of whatever period it is applied to*, and it is constantly applied to the grand eternal period of coming time, and therefore constantly means 'eternal' in the fullest sense of that term."*

Our readers will hardly be prepared to hear, after this exposition of the word *aiōnios* that Mr. Constable is an Annihilationist; but it is true. His words are:

"It (the word *aiōnios*) is for us, and not against us. With us the sinner is deprived of the eternal life bestowed by Christ, and this eternal deprivation of life is his eternal, everlasting punishment. It is a punishment true and real though unfelt by those who endure it, felt and recognised by all whom it is intended to affect, namely, the unfallen creation of God." †

And again:

"We hold that it (the eternal state of the lost) does not consist in an eternal life spent in pain of body, or remorse of mind, but that a state of utter death and destruction is that which abides for ever." ‡

Thus Mr. Constable gets at eternal death by calling annihilation eternal, which is certainly a pleonasm. Annihilation is not made a whit more forcible by the adjective eternal. It is essentially an *act*, not a process, like punishment, and terms implying duration are inapplicable to it. And how that can be a punishment which is unfelt by "those who endure it," or how a nonentity can "endure" a punishment, is utterly beyond our power to show. We have another specimen of

* *Rainbow*, vol. vi. p. 558. † Ibid.
‡ "Can it be True?" pp. 52, 53.

sophistical legerdemain in the following words, quoted from Mr. Constable's review of Mr. Jukes, a Restorationist:

"We have taught in Scripture the abolition of evil, and the restoration of all things to their original condition. It is quite plain that this restoration could be effected in either of these two ways; first, by a universal restoration of fallen man to God's image, a restoration including all who ever had life; secondly, a restoration of such only as accepted certain conditions of salvation, and a destruction of such as refused them. By either of these ways, we have all things living once more what they were—very good—we have God's world once again what it was before sin had entered."*

We presume by "destruction," annihilation is meant. But how can annihilation be termed a "restoration?" How can "all things" be restored when some things are annihilated? Is the criminal restored to happy and useful society who is hung? It is impossible for God's world to be "what it was before sin entered it," while any of his creatures are blotted out of existence,—an act that must live in eternal history, ever checking the thought that all things are "very good." Mr. Constable's theory fails, and so does Mr. Jukes's, as misinterpreting the text on which it is based (Act. iii. 21), as overlooking or misinterpreting other Scriptures opposed to it, and as failing satisfactorily to account for the lot of fallen angels.

Mr. Barlow acknowledges that Matt. xxv. 46, along with other passages, "presents to the denier of eternal punishment formidable difficulties—difficulties, too, which we cannot hope wholly to remove."† He proceeds to show that these difficulties are not unique by quoting the words, "Take eat, this is my body," his argument being, in effect, that as Jesus did not state what he meant in the one case, no more did he state what He meant in the other, and as the Roman Catholics interpret the one passage literally and wrongly, so the orthodox interpret the other literally and perhaps wrongly,—a rather curious mode of interpreting Scripture, a mode which amounts to a virtual admission that eternal punishment *means* eternal punishment. He does not venture upon any criticism which would imply that *aiōnios* does not mean a proper eternity; but goes on to show that the word is unnecessary in the controversy. This he accomplishes by stating that the belief of immortal life does not depend upon it, giving passages in proof, and by following that up with the sweeping statement that "to describe the eternity of punishment no such

* *Rainbow*, vol. vi. p. 403.
† "Eternal Punishment and Eternal Death," p. 92.

array of unquestioned epithets can be produced.—That frightful doctrine is based on the interpretation of a single doubtful term." This is not a correct statement.* But we must not allow ourselves to be drawn away from the main subject by a side issue like this. We are tired of the Annihilationists' caricatures of orthodoxy. If it were half so bad as they represent it to be it would deserve an eternal grave, and we would help to bury it.

We may therefore conclude that the punishment of the wicked in the future world will be eternal, or in other words, will be co-existent with the existence of its subject. If it is said that this latter definition does not affirm the eternal existence of man in hell, we reply, neither does it deny it. Even on this interpretation of *aiōnios*, punishment in the future world *may* be eternal. The positive admissions, however, of the opponents of the orthodox doctrine decide the matter.

The two alternative theories are those of Annihilation and Restoration. The first holds that the wicked after undergoing their term of suffering, will cease to exist, or be annihilated, as beings; and the second holds that instead of ceasing to exist the wicked will be restored by some means or other to the favour of God and to the bliss of heaven. Dr. Parker modifies the Annihilation theory into the theory of "Terminableness," the wicked man dying out, or gradually becoming extinct, as a clock gradually runs down and then stops; and Mr. Henry Dunn modifies the theory of Restoration by holding that the best of the wicked will be restored, but the worst—the incorrigibly bad—will be annihilated. All these theories have a similar object,—the cutting short of punishment,—the rendering it non-eternal. The Annihilationists accomplish their object by putting the sufferers out of existence; the Restorationists by restoring them to well-being. Both parties seek support from Scripture; but both theories cannot be true.

If we ask, How is Annihilation to come about? we at once place ourselves in the midst of a great difficulty, and one which the Annihilationists themselves are quite aware of, judging from their caution on this point. So far as we can gather, they never state distinctly, but leave it to be inferred, that it will come about by an act of God. But the annihilation of moral agents by an act of God is against all analogy, finds no at shred of support from our observation and knowledge, is opposed to all our instincts, and especially the instinct of life,

* For disproof of the statement, see 1 Thess. v. 3; Jude 15; Heb. ii. 3; x. 28—31; xii. 25; James ii. 13; Luke xviii. 17; Rom. viii. 7; James i. 15; Isaiah xiii. 6—11; Luke xvii. 27—30, 33.

and is not, in either plain statement or remote hint, to be found in the Scriptures. The whole tendency of God's action, so far as we know it, is to the multiplication and not the extinction of moral and spiritual existences, and the "constitution and course of nature" in no aspect of it provides for such a contingency. What God *can* do, it is not for us to say; but we can and do say that there is not the slightest hint to be obtained from any source whatever that God *will* annihilate a moral agent. There is equally as little reason for supposing that the resurrection nature will gradually annihilate itself.

The theory of Annihilation has evidently been invented because it is supposed to be a better look-out than the orthodox doctrine. The doctrine of Eternal Punishment is called all sorts of bad names, and Annihilation is presented to us as infinitely to be preferred, though we have to suffer ages of ages of torment before we cease to be. But *is* Annihilation to be preferred to Eternal Punishment? We think that every reflective man will pause before deciding this matter. Annihilation! What is it? It is a soul turning round upon itself and saying, "Cease to love, and hope, and smile, and live: cease to think, to reason, to imagine, to feel: cease to sympathize, to trust, to sing, to pray." It is an intelligence flying in the teeth of its strongest instinct. Nature says, "I would live, though in pain." The acquired voice of an unnatural faith says, "I would die out, and be a blasted history." It is the quenching of the many-hued lights of emotion and thought and influence, and a premature blighting of all the budding powers of spirit-life. And yet how much remains of memory of that blotted-out life, of the grand creations of that extinct genius, of wondrous touches of soft and tender thought and impulses of never-failing love a-woven into the thoughts and feelings and hopes of thousands who live on, carrying with them the history of an annihilated soul,—all of which cannot be quenched except at the awful price of an annihilated universe! Can it be that *being* shall have a limited existence, and the *effects* of being an unlimited? Can we conceive of the annihilation of one moral agent, without being obliged to believe in the possibility of the annihilation of all moral agents? And is such a possibility admissible? Can we conceive of annihilation at all as being consistent with moral government? If we go to the lowest and most wretched of men, we believe that life, *per se*, is a charm they would not forego at any price. And though some unhappy ones commit suicide, and others desire to do so, we look on their sad act rather as an evidence of a desire for a better state of life

than for the extinction of life. We are aware that we expose ourselves to the retort, that if annihilation is a severer doom than eternal punishment we ought to accept it as strengthening the motives to virtue, and weakening the motives to vice. But our aim is to get at the truth, assured we shall then have the strongest motive for virtue and against vice. Manufactured motives, which manufacture virtues, are themselves of the nature of vice.

Mr. Randles * is very full, and on the whole thorough and satisfactory, in his treatment of the Annihilation theory. He thus sums up his objections to it, each of which he previously considers at length (p. 212):

"Let it be recollected that the analogy of nature says nothing for, but much against it; that it weakens the most powerful warning against sin and irreligion; that it disagrees with the desert of sin, as far as that can be ascertained; that the portions of Scripture on which it professes to be founded, on examination afford it no support; and that it is flatly opposed to other portions which plainly teach the eternal misery of the obstinately perverse."

The alternative theory of Restoration also receives its share of attention from Mr. Randles, in various parts of his work, but chiefly in chapters v. and vii. Sometimes he is very keen, thrusting his opponents into corners from whence there is no escape. The following argument, directed against the few Universalists who attribute the redemption of the wicked from hell to the mediation of Christ, is well and forcibly put, and cannot be evaded (p. 123):—

"Say that, but for Christ's work, the lost must have suffered for ever: then all the objections to endless suffering for sin, drawn ostensibly from the Divine perfections and government, are thereby given up. Say, on the other hand, that there are principles natural or moral, in God or His dominion, which preclude eternal suffering: then it follows that such suffering was never possible, and could not be incurred; and if it was impossible, so was redemption from it; and therefore deliverance from it could not be ascribed to Christ's mediation: for how could men be redeemed from a sentence neither justly due, nor capable of enforcement?"

Mr. Randles shows that Restoration cannot be brought about (1) by Christ's mediation, as it will not then be available, nor (2) by the influences of external persons and things, as they will not be of a purifying character, nor (3) by self-restoration, as it is impossible for a clean thing to come out of an unclean, nor (4) by the power of God, as it is revealed

* "For Ever," chap. vii.

that he will not thus restore the lost, and is unlikely in the nature of things, nor (5) by any combination of these supposed methods.* Mr. Constable, reviewing Mr. H. Dunn's "The Kingdom of God," in the *Rainbow* for 1869, also thoroughly examines the Restoration theory, and comes to the conclusion that it has "no foundation in Scripture." (P. 230).

IV.—As to the Nature of Eternal Punishment.

We deem it somewhat unfortunate that the Rev. T. R. Birks should have published his view in connection with the present controversy. Had it appeared in quiet times it might have met with a more favourable reception. We do not mean to intimate that we agree with Mr. Birks. On the contrary, we see many defects in his reasonings. He has conveniently summed up his view in four heads. The first asserts an eternal contrast between the righteous and the wicked, as against Universalism; the second asserts that the contrast in the case of the wicked will consist in eternal conscious suffering, opposing Annihilation; the third asserts that the punishment will not allow of open rebellion on the part of the lost, but that they will be in a state of "passive subjection." As the fourth contains the view to which most exception has been taken by Mr. Birks' critics, we give it in full:—

"Fourthly, when this humiliation of the lost and guilty is complete—and because it will be complete—there may be, without sacrifice of God's perfect justice, or of the truth of His solemn threatenings, such a revelation of His goodness, side by side with the irreversible manifestation of His judicial righteousness, as shall gloriously vindicate for Him in the eyes of the whole universe, and in His dealing with the worst and guiltiest of His creatures, the blessed truth that He is "loving to every man," and that His name and His nature is pure and perfect love."†

It will be seen that Mr. Birks is a believer in Eternal Punishment, and that his book is concerned with the character or nature of the punishment,—a subject which requires more thoughtful treatment than it has yet received at the hands of theologians. Mr. Birks assures us that his view is the matured thought of many years, aided by a close study of the Scriptures, in conjunction with some "special insight" vouchsafed to him by God. It is based on the fact that man sustains two relations, an individual and a federal one, which the author carries forward into the transactions of the next world, man individually being condemned to Eternal Punishment, but

* "For Ever," pp. 248-256.
† "Victory of Divine Goodness," pp. 211, 212.

federally enjoying "such a contemplation" of the "ransomed universe, and of all the innumerable varieties of blessedness enjoyed by unfallen spirits, and the ransomed people of God, as would be fitted, in its own nature, to raise the soul into a trance of holy adoration in the presence of infinite and unsearchable goodness."* It assumes that a perfect love implies "a sincere desire for the happiness of all," and that "a perfect victory of Almighty love" implies "that this desire should not fail through the strength of evil, but be at length fulfilled."† Here, we think, is the great weakness of Mr. Birks's whole case. His aim is good, but to make it feasible he has to rest it on this questionable foundation. We are not assured in the Scriptures, nor does the nature of the case imply it, of any perfect victory of Almighty love in the sense that there shall be no evil at all in the universe, or that the consequences of evil-doing, natural or judicial, shall be in the least curtailed in the case of the lost; nor are we justified in assuming, as Mr. Birks assumes, that evil in its utmost consequences is inconsistent with perfect love and the perfect victory of Divine love. If this assumption is put aside, the *raison d'être* of Mr. Birks's theory is gone. There is no contradiction to reconcile, and hence no necessity for his supposed reconciliation.

His theory involves the notion that the second death is an improvement on the first death. After stating that the effects of Christ's atonement upon *all* mankind are, an economy of forbearance and mercy, and the resurrection of the dead, he goes on to say, "The death which Christ came to abolish, and will abolish, is far more than the dissolution of the body alone." The first death "means the abandonment of the spirit, driven out from God's presence, to the unchecked, unbounded, unabated consequences of its own inward corruption and wickedness."‡ Compared with the first death, "the second death, with all its terrors, may be, not only in the sight of a holy God, but even in the consciousness of the lost themselves, an infinite gain."§ So, then, the first death is the body consigned to death, and the soul given up to utmost evil; the second death is man in hell, checked, subdued, controlled by the mighty hand of God, mercy mingling with justice in the firmness of His rule, and some consolation being afforded to the sufferers in the recognition of those attributes as displayed in His government. God's love will be so displayed in the

* "Victory of Divine Goodness," p. 45. † Ibid, p. 41.
‡ Ibid, p. 169. § Ibid, p, 171.

second death as to afford to the sufferers *some* amount of "consolation." Both Mr. Constable, in the *Rainbow* for 1869, and Mr. Randles, in his Appendix, erroneously ascribe to Mr. Birks the view that the second death is the result of atonement. The truth is, that Mr. Birks teaches that the *first* death is to be abolished in consequence of the atonement of Christ, and he states that the second death is God's appointment.* In consequence of this mistake, the reasonings of both critics are inconclusive. But Mr. Constable's review is often defective in reasoning, and betrays a bad spirit. The tone of Mr. Randle's critique is much superior, though here and there he misrepresents Mr. Birks.

We have given only the main points of Mr. Birks's theory. We cannot enter into the details in this article. We have given sufficient, however, to see that Mr. Birks is simply trying to find some lights among the dark shadows of hell,—some signs of mercy as well as justice in the dealings of God towards the lost. While we cannot excuse the silly outcry which has been raised against him, we confess that we cannot see as he sees on this question. The assumption on which his theory is based—that a perfect victory of Almighty love implies that love's desire to bless *all* shall not fail through the strength of evil—has no solid foundation on which to rest. We question, too, whether the federal relationship will extend beyond the judgment, when the mediatorial kingdom shall cease, and God become "all in all." We have not confidence, either, in Mr. Birks's reading of the inner meanings of Scripture, from which he derives the chief support of his theory; and still less in any "special insight" distinct from the ordinary insight all may obtain by prayer and study. The evidence on which he relies is certainly too meagre for proof. We cannot think that the Scriptures hold out the least hope of any moral change taking place in the character of the lost in the second death,—and some such change is implied in Mr. Birks' language. We also think that the evident reluctance of Mr. Birks to publish his view (kept back thirty years), arising from its supposed injurious effect upon men as encouraging them in evil, is itself a sign that it is erroneous. His justification of the delay, grounded on the statement that God allows himself to be misunderstood though He has the power of clearing Himself, and that this frame of mind is the noblest of all, is very ingenious, but will not avail; for it gives to men an excuse for misunderstanding God. Nor can we see that

* "Victory of Divine Goodness," pp. 169, 171.

his account of the second death as compared with the first it at all in agreement with the general tenour of Scripture. It cannot be denied, that all kinds of fiendish malice have been attributed to the lost by many writers amongst the orthodox. Evil in hell is to be rampant, and hell itself is to be a seething pit of mutual revilers and tormentors, the whole uniting in execrating and blaspheming the good Father of all. They are represented as tossing on billows of material fire, all-unconsumed, their wild cries of pain, mingling with those of raging defiance and fierce rebellion, rising up as smoke for ever and ever. We cannot blame Mr. Birks for trying to escape such views. Every man of reflection will do the same. Therefore, contrary to Mr. Birks's critics, Messrs. Constable, Grant, Baxter, and (to some extent) Randles, we cannot see anything wrong in Mr. Birks's study of the deeper meanings of Scripture in order to find further information concerning the lost,—nor in his belief that the second death will not be a reign of Satan in a kingdom of his own, where he will torment his victims for ever,—nor in his belief that in punishment as well as in salvation, God's mercy will in some form be shown to and acknowledged by the lost,—nor in his belief that as the doom of the lost involves an unwilling acknowledgment of God's justice in their own sentence, there is also implied a compulsory but real perception of all the other attributes of the Almighty.*

With the "material fire" view of Eternal Punishment we have no sympathy. It is the very lowest aspect of punishment,—the physical. They who hold it confound the *fact* with the *mode* of punishment, and do not rightly conceive the nature of spirit. It may safely be affirmed that material fire can act only on material substances. Immaterial or spiritual substances are beyond its reach. Scripture, we believe, in this as in other things, uses material figures to help us towards the conception of spiritual things. There will be a punishment as severe to the spiritual nature as fire is to the physical nature. We may never be able to understand fully the *nature* of Eternal Punishment; but we can go a little way in that direction. Even as heaven will be the present spiritual life of the believer carried on along the same line, as we gather from many Scripture intimations, so hell will be the present spiritual death of the unbeliever carried on along the same line until a point is reached which is most fitly termed "hell." The character of the punishment in this life will help us to determine the

* "Victory of Divine Goodness," pp. 176, 48.

character of the punishment in the next. To help us to conceive this, let us suppose, first, a man believing it impossible to be saved, yet conscious of the value of the blessing he has lost, and keenly feeling his forced separation from all the sweet glories of spiritual life. Can his agony be told in words? or his mental disquietude be guaged? No. We resort immediately to figures of speech, such as a dagger thrust through the heart, a burning in fire, or a man on the rack. Suppose, secondly, that in the future world the wicked will know that salvation is impossible, at the same time knowing what it means, and what the loss of it means. Grant them a consciousness of their folly, some conception of the awful nature of sin and of the infinitely exalted character of God, and some insight into the mysteries of moral government. Can their punishment be described or set forth in words? No. We must resort to figures of speech, and though ignorant of Scripture we use the images of Scripture—the fire, the worm, the bottomless pit, and we call their state of punishment, as Scripture does, one of torment, destruction, death, hell. If we could we would use figures still more terrible to express the spiritual condition of the lost. Add to this, thirdly, the thought that in the next world the spiritual nature will have a more complete mastery over the merely physical nature than it has in this world. This we may without hesitation accept. There is every probability that the spiritual nature will advance in supremacy in an ever-increasing ratio. Of course the moral and spiritual susceptibilities will be proportionately intensified. The meaning of spiritual things will come out in clearer outline, and there will be greater ability to grasp their far-reaching significancies. As the dull resistance of the physical nature lessens, and the spiritual nature rises up into a more vivid realization of spiritual life and death, there will be punishment more spiritual in nature, and therefore more intense in degree. Can we imagine the intensified agony of the lost in such a case? We cannot; for we should need the intensified moral and spiritual nature to do so. The nearest approach, however, to a just representation of such punishment are the figures of Scripture. Suppose, lastly, that the lost will live for ever in such a state, and we have eternal punishment without material fire at all.

Mr. Barlow notices at length the moral aspects of Eternal Punishment; but we can only briefly refer to them. In chapter the second of "Eternal Punishment and Eternal Death" he touches upon the consequences of Eternal Punishment in reference to mission work and to families. Because

failure in the mission fields is all but universal (p. 14), and because those who reject the message of mercy will be punished, he thus appeals to all missionaries (p. 15):

"Among them (the lost multitude) stand the thousand to whom you preached, but preached in vain, and a thousand outstretched hands point out *you* as their destroyer—a thousand tongues, parched in the everlasting flame, charge *you* with their appalling doom—'If you had not come to us with your Gospel we should not have been here—In the smoke of our torment ascending up for ever and ever, behold your work!'"

Such writing as this is simply vicious. In its backward sweep it smites Christ Himself and His Apostles. As to families, he states that those who believe in Eternal Punishment ought not to contract family ties, that the number of the lost may not be increased! Speaking of the infant of the pious mother turning out bad, and that of the wicked mother being taken at death into the heavenly kingdom, he exclaims, "What an infinite curse was the good mother, what an infinite blessing was the bad one to their respective offspring! What infinite blessings were the ruffianly Spanish soldiery to the Indian children, when they had them baptized, and then cut their throats!" (p. 21). This argument is either supremely ridiculous or surpassingly wicked. The author is either jesting, or finding for the orthodox a justification of infanticide. The very same reasoning reflects upon God in the creation of man, and in providing means for the multiplication of the species. These conclusions are so absurd, that a moment's reflection ought to have shown the writer, not that the Scripture doctrine of Eternal Punishment is untrue, but that his conception of the question is and must be either a vile caricature or a huge mistake. His whole argumentation in this chapter proceeds on the assumptions that man has no alternatives presented to him, accepting or rejecting offers of mercy, believing or disbelieving the truth,—that he has no persuasives to goodness,—no right to be treated differently whether he works righteousness or evil.

In chapter the third Mr. Barlow notices more fully the relation of our subject to Ethics. He holds that Eternal Punishment is inconsistent "with the attributes of the all-merciful God." He admits that Eternal Punishment is not condemned by the moral faculty; but holds that it is opposed to the Divine attributes. He also says: "I can admit even everlasting evil, and yet hold fast my trust in the justice and mercy and love of Almighty God." At what point, then,

does Everlasting Punishment clash with the attributes of God? He tells us in these words:

"But, at the next step, the moral sense passes judgment and forbids me to go further. It forbids me to admit as possible the infinite duration of evil *in one and the same created sentient subject.* . . . I can admit the existence of evil; I can admit its eternal existence; but, if I felt myself constrained to admit its eternal existence in one and the same living creature, I should at once sink down helplessly into the deadliest of heresies. . . . I mean the heresy of doubting the justice and goodness of my Creator." *

But this is taking us away, by an adroit movement, from the subject in hand—the opposition of Eternal Punishment to the Divine attributes—to the subject of the Immortality of Man. Evil may eternally exist, but man cannot; in other words, the immortality of man is opposed to the Divine attributes. If the writer should say that this is not a correct view of his argument, as it is the question of the eternal existence of man *in evil* that is the difficulty, we ask how can evil be eternally existent apart from the eternal existence of moral agents?

We have not space to notice fully Mr. Barlow's statement, that he cannot "conceive any finite sin *deserving* such a doom" as Eternal Punishment,—an objection fully answered by Mr. Randles.† Mr. Barlow does not consider it of any consequence, morally considered, whether or not Eternal Punishment is worked out by means of general law—as a natural consequence of present wrong-doing, or is specially inflicted by God (p. 45). But there is a proper distinction to be made between the two modes, even as there is a distinction to be made between a personal and governmental administration. If Eternal Punishment be a natural consequence of evil courses in this world, it can no more be complained of than the thousand other consequences which follow certain actions. If it be wholly a special infliction, its opponents may at least complain of it as an extraordinary and exceptional proceeding, and so far find some ground for "judging" God. Mr. Barlow tries to make capital out of the fact that some have argued for Eternal Punishment on the ground that the saved will be confirmed in their happiness by a sight of the misery of the lost. We regret that some have so reasoned, as there is not the slightest necessity for it. It is quite sufficient if, by the punishment of evil doers, the law keepers are secured in the peaceful enjoyment of their rights and privileges, and moral government is preserved in its

* "Eternal Punishment and Eternal Death," pp. 4, 34, 37, 38.
† "For Ever," p. 77.

integrity. If justice were not as operative as mercy in God's government, the confidence of the saved would be shaken; for mercy unguided by justice immediately becomes partial in its favours and fruitful in mischief.

We have met with plenty of assertions that the doctrine of Eternal Punishment is making any number of sceptics. It seems to us that men are rather in need of a peg to hang their scepticism on, than of a true ground of Gospel belief. As a fact, those who oppose this truth do not conflict with the orthodox on this point only. There is reason to believe that their opposition to it is a logical necessity. It stands in the way of the development of other views, and must therefore go. The Annihilationists and Restorationists have confounded God's attribute of justice with the attributes of love and mercy, including the former in the latter. Love, with them, becomes the essence of God. They have exalted the secondary or the corrective aspect of punishment, into the primary or the retributive, losing sight of the fact that punishment consists in the infliction of the penalties of moral law in order chiefly to preserve in their integrity the rights and privileges of moral government. They have confounded moral government with "conscience," a very defective and unsatisfactory "light" indeed; also with human feelings or "sentiment," a guide still more unreliable. They have brought their utilitarian principles to morality and religion, and are trying to harmonize them. They have narrowed the sphere of the human will to a mere speck, until it is hard to tell whether or not they have confounded it with necessity, or with an overpowering force of Divine goodness. Grant these things, and Eternal Punishment becomes at once a "detestable dogma."

Whilst such things as the above are remembered, other things are forgotten, as (1) the evil of sin, (2) the justice of God, (3) the freedom of the will, (4) the nature of moral government, and (5) the majesty of God. Ignore these elementary topics of theology and philosophy, and to disbelieve in Eternal Punishment is easy; but not without. The very fact that they have to be ignored to admit of that disbelief is significant. It is also forgotten that there is an immense difference between believing a doctrine and explaining it. The learned of all ages have more or less differed as to the "how" of the principal doctrines of Scriptures, Eternal Punishment included. He who is gifted with a deeper insight than ordinary into spiritual things, or who has leisure and learning to devote to their elucidation, may seek to know more than the bare *fact* that such-and-such a doctrine is revealed, without being stopped in

the outset by orthodoxy. Orthodoxy rather indicates the line of belief than bars the progress of belief. This liberty has doubtless often been abused; and perhaps more with regard to Eternal Punishment than any other doctrine. In theological treatises, pamphlets, sermons, and hymns we can find vivid descriptions of Eternal Punishment, each differing from the rest, but all alike in this,—that each may be untrue. Many of the popular views of Christianity are obtained from the thousands of sermons preached in our pulpits every Sabbath day, most of which, as being delivered extemporaneously, and as characterized by more or less of unthoroughness of treatment, are unreliable as authoritative statements of doctrine. A reflective perusal of religious literature must have suggested to us the thought, that every religious writer has not a talent for dealing comprehensively with intricate subjects. Some have keenness but not breadth of vision. Their view is clear and grand, but not comprehensive. They have the piercing vividness of an eagle's flashing eye; but they lack the all-inclusive sweep of the commander's field-glass. They can soar into the clear empyrean, but they cannot plod through the labyrinths of truth. Besides, orthodoxy's long season of success has occasioned considerable looseness of thought and expression, and has given rise to the use of accommodated terms, commonly understood but strictly incorrect, all of which afford to opponents favourable points of attack. Nor must it be forgotten that most of the doctrines of the Gospel are truths which do not admit of demonstrable evidence. The satisfaction of the scientific man is denied us. Spiritual truths take us into an unknown world, where no foot has trod, and where the mind gropes among strange shapes and shadows. Especially is this true of the doctrines which concern man's after-state in resurrection, judgment, heaven, and hell. To forget these considerations is most blameable. More: it is fatal to success; for all reasonings against orthodox truth must in consequence be seriously impaired. There will be no finality in any controversy occasioned by such neglect.

We regard the present controversy on the subject of Eternal Punishment as a temporary one; for the grievance of its opponents is mainly sentimental, and will give place to a healthier conception of the truth. They play powerfully, and skilfully too, upon the feelings of the religious public, paint in dismal colours the miseries of the lost, boldly appeal to the sympathies of men as to the justice of such a fearful doom—a doom which, in its exaggerated form, is the creation of their own imaginations, and, anticipating an unanimous rejection of

such horrific truth, rejoice over a defunct orthodoxy. It is hard to deal with a sentimental grievance; but, then, it is in its nature temporary. It has it not in it to last long. It must either take up with some new crotchet, or die out for want of fuel. The opponents of Eternal Punishment seem secretly to feel this, for appeals to the feelings abound in their writings, and reason, conscience, and judgment are exercised more to strengthen those appeals than to arrive at the truth.

Hence we are placed at a seeming disadvantage. The orthodox are represented as hard of heart and incapable of sympathising with the lost. Their feelings are crushed beneath the heel of their inexorable creed. We are not aware that the finally lost need our sympathy, or sure that our sympathy would help them; though the Roman Catholic's prayers for the dead and gifts for the benefit of souls in purgatory are a refutation of the charge. As to the rest, we can safely ask, Who have most shown their pity for souls in danger of death, by earnest and persevering labours for their salvation, the opponents or the adherents of this doctrine? To represent us as contending for the eternal misery of men is simple misrepresentation. We do nothing of the kind: we desire nothing of the kind. We live, labour, and pray for the very opposite.

The difficulties with us are simply these:—

1. It is impossible for us to see our way out of the belief of Eternal Punishment while Scripture is Scripture, though desiring to do so as much as any man. Its language is too plain. Its statements can neither be explained away, nor otherwise interpreted. With impartial mind we read its pages to get at its truth, not caring whether or not our philosophy of man or nature agrees with it, or at least willing to alter it if it does not, and do what we will and desire what we will, the doctrine of Eternal Punishment is there. Because it is there, and *only* because it is there, we accept it.

2. Nor can we see how the other chief articles of our faith are to hang together, if this article is to be rejected. To our minds, if Eternal Punishment goes, the eternity of heavenly rewards must go too; the Atonement would also seem to us a work of supererogation, and the Judgment itself a farce. Revealed truths keep company: they are linked together in the necessities of thought: and to sever one is to destroy all.

3. And, further, we strongly doubt whether the realization of our desire that there should be no Eternal Punishment would be best, all things considered, for the universe. Moral and spiritual life may involve more than we think. Many of the moral aspects of things are hidden from us; many of the

facets of spirit-life are turned to the other side of the universe; and here we see moral government chiefly in shadow. We are utterly incompetent to say that Eternal Punishment is unjust and contrary to wisdom and goodness. Though man is a microcosm, yet he is not the universe. Though he touches all life, so wonderful is his nature, yet he does not comprise all life. The spirit-world is not to be bounded by our spirit-perceptions, nor is its character to be determined by our changing spirit-states. What we know, while putting off for a time our spirit's hunger, tells us that there is infinitely more we do not know. And till we can penetrate to the utmost bounds of the spirit-universe, and sweep as with an omniscient eye the whole of the actualities and possibilities of spirit-life, as developed out of past eternity and developing on into future eternity, it is utter folly for us to appeal to human consciousness against this revealed doctrine. If we do, that rejected truth of eternal punishment may be to us at some time in the future the missing link necessary to complete the circle of the Divine perfections, and bind together in absolute righteousness all the parts of God's moral government.

H.

ERRATA.

Page 278, line 8, reference (‡) at the foot of the previous page, as follows:—‡ *Rainbow*, vol. vi., p. 409.

On page 282, the references should be as follows:—

Line 3—* "Can it be true?" pp. 52, 53.
„ 21—† *Rainbow*, vol. vi., p. 558.
„ 30—‡ Ibid.
„ 34—‖ "The Duration and Nature of Future Punishment," p. 3.

ART. II.—CHURCH PROBLEMS.

A Second Series of Ecclesia: Church Problems considered in a Series of Essays. By various Writers. Edited by H. R. REYNOLDS, D.D., President of Cheshunt College. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1871.

Now that this series of essays is completed and published in one volume, we suppose there is no likelihood of another change in the title. The editor and his co-essayists have concluded what the name of their collection shall be. As the publication of the course has proceeded, three different titles have been announced, first, "Catholicity and Freedom, a series of papers on Theological and Ecclesiastical subjects;" then "New series of Essays on Theological and Ecclesiastical subjects;" and now "A second series of Ecclesia, &c." The editor, who also contributes the third essay, says "there is a mighty magic in names," which we would qualify by adding "some" before "names." "Ecclesia" is a title which will not exert much magical attraction, simply because it is not English. The managers of this part of the enterprise cannot be congratulated upon their skill or tact in "labeling." This of course applies to the previous volume as well as this one. Why not call it "A series of Essays on Church Problems?" The Latin word does not give any additional idea of the purpose of the book; it needs an explanatory and particularising description for plain English readers; it in fact seems to us to be a bit of literary pedantry.

The titles of two of the essays have also been changed from what they were announced to be until they actually appeared. Mr. Batchelor's was first advertised as "Creeds and Creed," and appeared as "The Rule of Faith; or, Creeds and Creed." Mr. Dale's was originally given as "The Church of Christ and Congregationalism," and came out as "The idea of the Church in relation to Modern Congregationalism." It matters little whether or not the names of the respective papers are equally descriptive of the work inside; it would matter little referring to these things at all only that they indicate either that there has been undue hurry in rushing into print, or that there has been no clear idea beforehand of what was meant to be done.

No system or principle of selection seems to have been observed in the successiveness of the essays; they are mixed

together, as though the writers had drawn lots as to whose paper should be first, whose second, and so to the last.

In our own order we will review these utterances of Nonconformists on questions which are stirring thousands of English Christians in the actual present time.

The first selection embraces (1) "The Rule of Faith," by the Rev. Henry Batchelor; (2) "The Incarnation," by the Rev. W. L. Alexander, D.D., F.R.S.E.; and (3) "Baptismal Regeneration," by the Rev. Enoch Mellor, A.M., D.D.

Mr. Batchelor's aim is "to set forth the logical merits of the Papal and Anglican estimate of Protestantism." He very early reminds us that "there is no *via media* between the parties in opposition as to what constitutes the rule of faith. We must either be Protestants or Papists;" he abides by the conviction that the Bible (not the New Testament merely) is the sole *external* rule of faith, the plenary and sufficient guide of the religious life, and that we must have the spirit of God *within*.

A question which has for three centuries or more been a great trouble to the Papal Church, and which long ago compelled her to a change of policy in relation to the Bible, is introduced in this essay, viz., ought the people, as well as the priests, to read the sacred word? May the laity think and judge for themselves on its Divine contents, or should the Church, in its councils and by its clergy, ignore the right of private judgment by deciding for the disciples of Jesus what, and what only, interpretation shall be accepted? Much educational good must have resulted from the publication of even the Douay Bible; but the fact that the Roman Catholics are in much the same condition of religious ignorance, superstition, and thraldom as before, may be taken as evidence that the doctrinal teaching of the book has been cleverly cooked to suit the Romish hierarchy; and that the riders of those hoodwinked souls are even more cunning and masterful than their forefathers were. The purchasers are told that "the Scriptures are worth no more than Æsop's fables, without the Church's authority." If a Nonconformist were thus told he would be as likely to laugh as to protest, but with Papists the case is very different, private conscience and judgment are nothing, Mother Church is supreme and infallible. Laymen should believe, not reason about things. Such credulity and helplessness are the natural development of the Romish system. And such are also the logical issues of Ritualism, as proof of which it need only be repeated in another form that one of the significant facts of recent years is that very many Anglican-

Romanists have wholly put off English Churchism; and the conviction of the general Christian conscience of the nation is that the reason why the others have not done so is simply that they are not so honest. By the very existence of a (so called) priesthood among them, they have a human authority over lay and private judgment.

But still the question comes up is the Church, in its councils or conferences, to exercise no control in this matter? The Broad Churchman will answer None; the Presbyterian will reply Yes, a strict control; and perhaps the Methodist would chime in with a lusty Yes, for there are no more vigilant guardians of orthodoxy than they. A spirit of greater liberty has spread widely and rapidly, and probably Courts-Theological have never been so little confided in as now. The opinion of Mr. Batchelor seems to be that the Church (and we suppose he means his words to apply to any particular denomination,) is unjustified in formulating a creed, and saying to candidates "subscribe to this creed and we will receive you into Christ's fold." The whole of his argument in the fifth division of his treatise goes to prove that—

"'We have no detailed and formal creed in the Scriptures;' that 'there was no such creed imposed by the Apostolic or Patristic Church;' that 'the Creeds which have become historic (the Apostles', Nicene, Constantinopolitan, and Athanasian) are without the authority claimed for them by the Church; that they were in fact either the growths of many generations (as the Apostles'), or have no authority but that of the Civil Magistrate. As in the Oriental Church, so amongst us these instruments recall a history of fraud, hypocrisy, corruption, despotism, and blood'"—p 282).

And he proceeds to show that

"The imposition of formal creeds positively prevents the good they are intended to secure; they obstruct the progress of the Church in apprehending the inexhaustible riches of Divine teaching in the inspired volume; they are unnecessary to secure unity in Church relationships; they do not make men more orthodox but only less honest; they lull Christian people into a false security, and tend to keep them in ignorance of current perils; and they render a national and Catholic faith impossible."

These ideas will be considered "advanced liberal" by many people, and "undermining" by many others. The fault we find with Mr. Batchelor's essay is that this important subject of Creeds, and Church authority in formulating and requiring subscription to them, is dealt with, almost wholly, in a negative manner. Would he leave every one to frame a creed for

himself? He certainly does not condemn the "declaration of those things most surely believed among us," which is given as the best definition of a creed; for he says—

"In the main orthodox creeds are the repositories of precious truths, ripened by the theological energy of the Church, and garnered for the service of the faithful. No one ought to disparage them. Except by the ignorant and presumptuous, they will be held in veneration"—(p. 269).

But the thorough reader will enquire how the essayist would use a creed. Just frame it and say, this is our belief, and we recommend you to believe so too? and, also, should non-acceptance of the creed thus published be a bar against Communion? The reader is left to ask and answer such questions. Their absence from the essay is its weakness. We will quote a few lines from Mr. Dale's paper, which seem quite necessary to the full representation of Nonconformist opinion on this question:—

"There are certain great spiritual truths, the recognition of which is necessary to the existence and development of the Christian life; and, therefore, the rejection of those truths is inconsistent with membership of the Christian Church. The denial of the evil of sin, or of the duty of repentance, or of the holiness of God, or of the obligation to keep His law, or of the wealth of the Divine mercy, or of the reality of the redemption achieved for mankind by the Lord Jesus, is inconceivable where the spiritual life exists. But the theological definition of any one of these truths involves a vast number of purely philosophical questions, about which there may be grave differences among those whose spiritual intuition of the truths themselves is equally clear and distinct. It is the spiritual intuition, not the intellectual conception, which determines whether there is spiritual life or not On this ground, articles of religion, creeds, confessions of faith, are, in their very nature, inadmissible as terms of Church communion"—(p. 410).

After giving a brief extract from Mr. Batchelor's essay, we must lay it down to take up another:—

"When John Wesley arose, centuries of intense intellectual activity had been expended on the metaphysics of the Christian faith. Wesley himself was a skilled theologian. He constructed a sharp, angular, denominational creed. Methodist dogma is settled to the end of the world. From the very nature of the case, it is incapable of expansion"—(p. 252).

Dr. Alexander has ventured to deal with a subject than which there can be none more interesting, important, and difficult. "The Incarnation" is essentially involved in the work

of human redemption, and is in itself incomprehensible by the human mind, for "no man hath seen God at any time;" the manifestation of Him in Jesus Christ is rather a declaration than an uncovering of the Divine nature. (John I., 18.) That which John says they beheld was "His glory." The nature incarnated was never seen, though the fact of the Incarnation was believed because of certain grand proofs—the works of the inner energy—which appealed to senses and consciences. Men saw "the man," and by the works they were convinced that He was more than man.

When questions of this character are not evaded, Christian thinkers and writers may expect to secure much confidence and regard in these days. About the greatest harm the Church can do to itself is done by shirking the difficulties of such questions. The vast moment of this Divine fact must make it one upon which the enlightened thought and the innate cravings of human minds must ever converge:—

"An incarnation of the Divine Being is an hypothesis not foreign to our intelligence; nay, is felt by the human consciousness to be essential to religion. 'The idea of a God-man,' as Dorner remarks, 'is not an idea which belongs only to this or that religion; rather is the germ of it found in all religions, just because they are religions;' and the realization of this idea in actual fact is what man, as a religious being, has in all ages and everywhere been seeking"—(p. 66).

Enquiries and speculations have been the efforts of the generations to get a more conscious hold of so vital a truth, and it is to be expected that all generations to come will in this respect be like those from which they have been born.

A difference is to be very carefully observed between two things which are often confused, viz., unbelief of the fact of the Incarnation, and what are considered heretical descriptions of it. Referring to the opinions held in former days by Eutyches, Apollinarius, and others, respecting the two natures of Christ, Dr. Alexander says:—

"All of them held the proper deity and the proper humanity of Jesus Christ; they erred only, where they erred at all, in the theory they adopted as to the manner in which these two natures were united in Him. What chiefly troubled them was to conceive how there could be but one Christ, one conscious personality, and yet two distinct natures; and the hypotheses they advanced had in view the removal of this apparent contradiction"—(p. 78).

The difficulties and troubles of these old thinkers have perpetuated themselves to this day, and rise up in many a mind which has never known of any such efforts as those made by

Eutyches, &c., &c. But the wide difference between unbelief of the fact, and an independent way of describing it, together with the acknowledgment made by the disputants that every theory is pregnable at some point or points, ought to secure to the heretical (who, by the way, claim credit for being truly orthodox) and all other theorists on the "*how*" of the unique unity, much charity and liberty. "It may be at once admitted that the *explanation* of the fact lies beyond our reach." We dare not call any man a liar who does not deny *the fact*, whatever be his particular representation of it to himself. (1 John II., 22 23.)

We must give a few lines to this fact in its relation to the Eucharist. Jesus said, "Lo, I am with you alway even unto the end of the world," and "where two or three are met together in My name, *there am I* in the midst of them." It will be easy to see how these words, taken in connection with the fact of the human as well as Divine nature of Christ, should be made a strong argument for the bodily (physical) presence of the Lord Jesus in the Supper. Dr. Alexander concedes a statement which seems to us to be as objectionable and erroneous as that which he combats. He says:—

"Wherever Christ is, there He is as God in the flesh. The only question is as to the way in which He is thus present. Is it a presence locally or a presence spiritually—a presence so as to be the object of sense, or a presence so as to exert an influence over the spirit of the communicant? * * In what other way can it be there but as an object of faith and a source of spiritual efficacy?"—(p. 109).

We hope, for the sake of the credit of Protestant theology, no Romanist or "Real presence" man will get to this end of the Essay. He will "fill his house with spoil." If God in the flesh be "there" it is "presence locally" and as "the object of sense." If Christ (who is omnipresent) be present with each and all companies of disciples as "God in the flesh," it is not plain how one can avoid either the absurd notion of many bodies (fleshes) of Christ, or the no less irrational idea that the body (flesh) of Christ is a huge thing filling all things! We have no doubt as to the essayist's real views, but it would not be easy to know them certainly from what he says here. His theory is inconsistent, *i.e.*, in the way in which he has worded it. All "Real presence" theories and beliefs rest on the assumption that where the Divinity is there must also the humanity be, as if the Divine nature of Christ were imprisoned within the human house, and does not dwell outside of it as

well as inside, though in some peculiar and special sense within. Such an idea is as incorrect and misleading as it would have been for the Jews to have thought that God dwelt only in the Temple, which Christ speaks of as the symbol of His own body. (Compare 1 Kings VIII., 13 and 27, with John II., 19 22.) We submit that the opinion of the Doctor and of all Nonconformists would have been more clearly and consistently recorded if the presence of Christ had been spoken of as actually and solely a spiritual presence, without any reference to "the flesh." He is in no more real and actual sense present with us "as God in the flesh," than when on earth His body was in Heaven. For only three years and a little more has the Kingdom of Heaven on earth been honored by the bodily presence of its King. But, happily, that, without which the body would be useless,—the spirit of the Saviour, is with us "alway even unto the end of the world."

The essay by Dr. Mellor on Baptismal regeneration leads us on to another line; introduces us to the same disputants as have been before us in the two prior essays, only that here they are before us as defenders of another position. It is remarkable what a large amount of attention High Church and Romish views secure. The "retrogression towards that darkness and bondage from which the Reformation delivered us" is not unassociated with good; it has elicited a surprising amount of information and argument on the side of Protestantism. This is a redeeming feature of current religious history.

A considerable share of the essay is occupied with objections against the opinions of Dr. Waterland, Dr. J. C. Vaughan, the Rev. F. W. Robertson, Dr. Pusey, and the Rev. J. B. Mozley. It will be impossible to give the reader a fair and adequate summary of the refutations of the different objective and subjective theories with which the above names are connected. The space which such summary would fill we must reserve for other matters. Two points only will we refer to, viz., the exclusion of the authority of the Fathers, and a sample of the shifts to which the dogma of Baptismal Regeneration compels its advocates.

There are certain sorts of men who are perpetually urging the antiquity of their opinions. "The ancients, the fathers believed so and so, and it is bold and bombastical for you to think you know better than they." "Old clo,"—probably musty and ragged. Clothes of human contrivance are sure to suffer with age. The only dress of religious truth which defies the moth is like unto that in which Jehovah clothes Himself. (Psalm civ., 2). Whatever is not like unto it

must "be reproved." Refreshment and astonishment will come to the reader as he traces the words in the following sentences:—

"In making the Scriptures the sole standard of appeal, we intend absolutely to exclude the authority of the Fathers as infallible or trustworthy guides in their interpretation; and we do this not simply because the general stress of their language is in favour of the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, but because they were in no position of advantage which entitles their opinion to more weight than those of eminent critics of modern times. Many of them were wholly ignorant of the Hebrew tongue. Augustine had but a very partial knowledge of the Greek, and the passion which prevailed in most of them, and even in the most sober, to find, under the letter of scripture, not merely the true sense but a number of mystic significations, by which the true sense became confused and obscured, corrupted the opinions of the Church for many generations, and the corruptions remain in great part down to the present day. . . . Their antiquity makes them unexceptionable witnesses to the opinions and customs prevalent in their own times, but stamps no value on their philosophical or theological faiths. They were no nearer to the Scriptures than the Church of the nineteenth century, and no nearer to the Holy Spirit by whose enlightening grace alone the truth, which has been outwardly revealed, can be inwardly apprehended"—(p. 34.)

As specimens of the style and sentiment of those old-times men, a few sentences are quoted from Father Augustine—

"'Little children who are not incorporated by baptism with the body and members of Christ, pertain to damnation;' 'They remain in perdition and darkness;' 'The wrath of God remaineth on them;' 'They undergo the punishment of the second death;' 'They are sent into eternal fire;' 'They are under the power of the devil;' and the author of 'The Confessions' bows his head before the mystery, and exclaims, 'O the depth of the riches!' And declares that with one consent the whole Church of Christ holds the perdition of unbaptised children."

With the testimony before us which such language constitutes, there is good reason for putting them out of court on this count. The reason is further strengthened by their blundering and ridiculous attempts to show that the thief on the cross was baptised. That man has greatly bothered the maintainers of baptismal regeneration from the beginning until now. His conversion took place only a few minutes before his death, and the assurance of the expiring Saviour removes all doubt as to the certainty of his future blessedness. But nothing is even

hinted at in the sacred narrative about baptism. It is an important test case. If he went to paradise unbaptised the teachers who insist on the necessity of baptism to regeneration must immediately give up their position as an untenable one. If one may be regenerated without receiving the rite others may too. See, then, how the difficulty is met,—"He was baptised in his own blood," "There might fall upon him drops from the wounded Saviour;" or, failing this, it may be "assumed that he was baptised before his conviction and imprisonment." What perverse ingenuity! What camels to be swallowed!

The essay on "Art and Religion," by Josiah Gilbert, Esq., is a special one; it belongs neither to the Theological nor Ecclesiastical classification alone. It stands by itself, though it is a convenient step from one to the other. It is the only one of the series by a layman, except Professor Wilkins be of the laity too. The writer had a most interesting subject to write about, and he evidently felt a good deal of enthusiasm in his work. The result is a valuable contribution to the literature of this subject.

He traces the alliance of Art and Religion and their mutual influence, from the earliest chronicled period down to the present time. It would be a pleasant thing for us to go rather lengthily into the history, but we will only note the general course of the essay.

The connection between Art and Religion may be traced to the desire to express, to record, to exemplify ideas respecting unseen power, and its relations to man. From this desire there came that oddity the Idol, a problem as well as an oddity. It is to the Idol that we owe one of the grandest achievements of art—the Temple. The tremendous thing needed housing. Of necessity the Idol and the Temple demanded a priesthood. In time the temples became habitations of cruelty; to the bodily presence of the Deity bodily service was appropriate, and infinite ceremonial distinguished times and seasons, days and hours, under which the lusts of the body found evil place. Modifications in Religious Art are effected by peculiarities of race, period, and scene,—as in Egypt, religious architecture is intensely local, breathing the very spirit of Nile scenery. The solemn simplicity reigning in the one rules also in the other. As in Assyria, where religious ideas took masculine, kingly, and military shapes; and also as in India, where the jungles and its monsters afforded the worshippers material for their elaborate and horrible symbolism. During all this play of fancy, philosophy, and art with the common truths of religion,

something new was preparing for the world, in the form of Hebrew Religious Art, which, besides many other things, comprised a tabernacle, an empty throne, a temple, and the cherubim, the whole of which symbolism was a Divine adaptation of Paganism. But no part of the system became an object of worship, the great safeguard against idolatry being found in the lay preachers—the prophets. Nevertheless the people often hankered after a visible representation of Divinity, and not unfrequently lapsed into the worship and vices of their neighbours. With Christ a new era began. Christianity had to leaven Paganism, and for a long time had no room for art because of the intensity of the spiritual life, the intimate association of art with paganism, and the persecutions which enclosed them on every side. There was no symbolism beyond the water of baptism and the bread and wine of the Eucharist. But there came a time when Christianity had become prosperous and powerful; and then art traced and chiseled representations of the religious notions of the Church of Christ. Art turned the visions of St. John into paint, and they became of the earth earthy. There came to be representations of Christ, of Satan, of the Madonna, and of the invisible realities of the future world. All of which things, as we know, dissipated and corrupted the life and habits of the Church; but the degeneration culminates in the doctrine of Transubstantiation; both the sacrifice and the God are in that piece of wafered bread! A crisis came in the outburst of the Reformation, which was a revolt against the materialism with which paganism had infected Christianity. Among the great things it did are to be noticed its "meeting houses." These tasteless erections, deformities for the most part in every lane and street, are a unique feature in the aspect of England. No other country shows the like. They were the meeting places of Christians with one another and with God. Every detail of Church organization and Church worship connected with these buildings illustrated the ruling principle of individual responsibility. Mean surroundings brought into relief the majesty and condescension of the great King. No art was adequate to the occasion. Art has no function to convey facts unknown before; it brings with it positive dangers; is weaker for good and stronger for evil in matters of religion than other modes of utterance. Still, art is the expression of an essential requirement of human nature; and civilisation developes, refines, and multiplies the means of this utterance to an infinite degree, and demands its use. The great laws, then, which should regulate religious art (in structure) are

fitness as to size, and for seeing and hearing; *dignity* of design, to which unity and simplicity of form are essential; and *beauty*, which will imitate the delicacy of nature's handiwork; will be sparing and chaste in any approach to ornament, so as to be appropriate to a building which is to be the home alike of hopes and fears; of penitence, sympathy, and sorrow; of remembrance of the departed; of a religion which reminds us that here we have no continuing city. As to pictorial and other adornment, the lessons of the past should be of some avail. Art records of a certain kind are innocent and commendable; but if brought into contact with worship, they destroy proper conceptions and the true spirituality of worship Pictorial art, if admissible in a Christian Church at all, must be historical,—scenes from the Saviour's life, or from the events that prepared His way. But it must needs be a genius that is employed to produce such records. Vulgar religious art, both in the Church and the Illustrated Bible, will only degrade and emasculate. "After all, we come back to the old vital question, 'What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world,'—of wealth, or rank, or knowledge, or art,—'and lose his own soul?'—if he forget that all appeals of art to the imagination, all the sympathies and extacies it may excite, are as nothing—may be worse than nothing—in the great transaction between himself and God?"

The reader will judge from all this as to the ground travelled over, but he must read the essay itself to know how intelligible and fascinating a guide Mr. Gilbert is.

The other essays in the volume are on "The Catholic Church," by the Rev. H. R. Reynolds, D.D.; "The Idea of the Church in relation to Modern Congregationalism," by the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A., and "Our National Universities," by Professor Augustus S. Wilkins, M.A.

Our plan of reading these essays in the order in which they have been mentioned here has not given the editor's contribution that good chance it needs. It compares very unfavorably with the clear and scholarly composition of Mr. Gilbert's "Art and Religion." It would not be difficult to fill half a dozen pages with criticisms on the involved and at times ungrammatical style in which it is written. The young gentlemen at Cheshunt College will have some difficult problems to solve, other than those they find in their class books. Dr. Reynolds must himself be a "Church problem." What can he mean by calling "the phrase, the Holy Catholic Church," "a sublime conception," along with the declaration that "the existence of an invisible Church is a sublime conception"?

Passing from the letter to the spirit of the essay, the great objects seem to be to show that the Catholic Church is not and never can be organic; that it is not embraced in any or all the Christian Churches; that there is a "visible Catholic Church" outside and independent of all so-called communions; and that when any one society arrogates all the grace of the Christian life it becomes one of the Fetiches of Christendom.

The fallacy and partiality of Reunion schemes are adverted to in the following terms:—

"The Apostolic succession, it is true, may develope itself in the humbling vagaries of the East; in the bigotry, deception, arrogance, and cruelty of Jesuitical intrigue; in the fantastical puerilities of Greek orthodoxy, or even of Abyssinian barbarism; while on the other hand the power of the Spirit of God may produce, without the help of 'Apostolic order,' the Free Church life of New England, the pietism of Germany, Moravian and Waldensian zeal and self-sacrifice, to say nothing of the energies of Congregationalism, Presbyterianism, and Methodism throughout Great and Greater Britain;—and yet, nothing daunted by the astounding paradox, the only hope for Christendom cherished by Reunionists is one which shall include the former in and exclude the latter from their ideal of the Holy Catholic Church"—(p. 123).

The advocates for Reunion are far more numerous than what are in the Church of England. The same Politico-Ecclesiastical doctrine applies to all alike:—

"In all that deep region of thought where intuitions, tastes, affections, dispositions, and character play so large and necessary a part, *diversity* is the test of progress, and the help to progress. It is scarcely possible to conceive of any absolute union of expression for these deep realities which will not destroy the essential nature of the most precious assent"—(p. 169).

The arrogance of Papists is, then, uncharitable and preposterous, and the theories and dreams of all re-unionists are mistaken and wasteful. But what, amid all this diversity, of the Holy Catholic Church? Is there, nevertheless, such a sublime *fact* in the world? Is there really a body of Christ which is one? If so, in what does it consist, and in what does it manifest itself? "It is the *life* (the Divine life in humanity) itself which is HOLY; it is the life itself, and it alone, which is CATHOLIC," and the possession of this Divine life of necessity constitutes union with the Holy Catholic Church. Creeds and organizations never can be Catholic except in name. The unseen Divine life in humanity—the only "Holy Catholic

Church," shows its operative presence in each individual person who shares it, in the modifying, revolutionizing, and transforming effects it has upon his social relationships; in bringing him into *new* relations with his fellows; and in producing marked though indirect effects on the world at large. Whilst therefore the true kingdom of God does not consist of the organic association of spiritual persons, it will naturally secure some form of visible association and communion for purposes of faith, prayer, and service,—the worshipping assembly. The mistake is in thinking, especially in saying, that any such local, organic, and temporary association is the limit of the Catholic Church; and that in order to the oneness of that Church there must be uniformity of opinion and operation. Reader, illustrate and enlarge this latter idea by considering the differences and paradoxes which exist in the most happy family.

From "The Catholic Church" we very easily proceed with "The Idea of the Church in relation to Congregationalism." Mr. Dale at the very beginning of his candid and vigorous essay asserts that the spiritual and divine unity of the Church is indestructible; shows that the polity of the Church is not a matter of positive institution,—that as to polity no directions in the New Testament are given, and none are needed; and maintains that "the Church of every age is perfectly free to make its organization the closest expression of its highest life and the most effective means for securing the purpose for which an organized Church exists." Some form of organization was inevitable, because isolation is contrary to the law of the religious, as well as of the social life. The particular form of the organization may vary according to national or mental diversities of taste and training. But of whatever form the organization may be, possession of the supernatural life must be the supreme condition of membership. Mr. Dale says:—

"The real ground on which the customs of Congregational Churches are open to objection is this:—They appear to imply that as soon as a man has received the life of God, the life will so distinctly reveal itself in new forms of thought and emotion that there will never be any difficulty in recognizing its presence. This is a grave mistake. The first movements of the supernatural life are very obscure. · · In innumerable cases the consciousness of regeneration does not immediately follow trust in Christ. · · We wait till the regenerate children of God are able to speak and to walk, before we are willing to receive them into the Divine 'household.' All that we have a right to ask for is an assurance of personal trust in Christ,"—(p. 383).

We wish Mr. Dale had somewhat exactly described the import of that term, "personal trust in Christ," in relation to salvation.

In speaking of the Church and communion he says, "it is hard to see what advantage comes to a man from entering the Church." Apart from attendance at the Lord's Supper, most Congregationalists would not find it easy to say in what "the privileges of Church-membership" consist. Some remarks are made which will be peculiarly significant to the few who have persevered in reading thus far:—

"As the Christian Church sprang into existence to satisfy the strong craving of Christian men for communion with each other, the Idea of the Church is never fulfilled except when this communion is secured. · · It is certain that where there is an earnest longing in the hearts of Christian men for intimate communion with each other our ordinary meetings for worship leave it unsatisfied. · · In every Congregational Church there are men and women who have a deep and vivid sense of the spiritual unity of all who are in Christ. Such persons might be gathered together in an informal way, and encouraged to meet regularly for prayer and for conversation on Christian truth and duty. Others would soon be attracted to these meetings, and the whole Church might gradually discover the joy and strength which come from free communion in Christian thought and worship. The younger members of the Church might be assembled in classes for the same purpose, instead of being urged to take up various forms of Christian work before they have attained any depth and steadiness of religious life, and any clearness and definiteness of religious knowledge. But the true Idea will not be fulfilled until there are regular meetings of the whole Church for worship and conference"—(p. 390-1).

Congregationalism requires some such element as that which Methodism has in its "class" and "fellowship meetings," and then it would, as a Church organization for a particular purpose, be pretty near complete; it would give adequate means for the expression of the inner life. The accomplishment of that purpose decides the essential agreement of the organization with the genius of the N. T. and with the Holy Spirit in the Church.

"No limitations of membership are valid which exclude any who have received the supernatural life." Hence the special distinctions described as "Calvinism," "Teetotalism," "Baptism," &c., are invalid as tests of membership, inasmuch as there may be, and are, many persons who have the Divine life who are neither Calvinists, Total Abstainers, nor Baptists.

There is one part of this essay, viz., on "The Idea of the Church in relation to Theological Creeds," which is closely allied to the subject of Mr. Batchelor's essay. We will call attention to one thing suggested by putting this and that together. Mr. Dale, in a page or two before he writes of creeds, says something to the effect that the presence of Christ with the assembled "two or three" invests the decision of the Church with "supernatural penalties," or "supernatural blessings," as the case may be. The cases particularly supposed are the expulsion and reception of members. The decision "has a supernatural validity, because Christ is a party to the act"—(p. 401, &c.). There will be found people who will, on precisely the same ground, claim "supernatural validity" for other acts of the Church—the imposition of Creeds to wit. There is one large part of Christendom which claims infallibility for its dogmas, doctrines, and practices, because of the presence of Christ. If Mr. Dale assigns such Divine authority and consent for one set of acts why may not the same "supernatural validity" be stamped upon others, making the imposition of them legitimate? Read this paragraph again, in the light of the following:—

"The absence of a deep and strong faith in the supernatural validity of the acts of the Church is one of the chief defects of Modern Congregationalism. We are alarmed by any theory which invests what seems a human organization with spiritual authority, and have forgotten that since the Church is a supernatural society it is necessarily armed with supernatural powers"—(p. 404).

This is very like a Nonconformist reproduction of the old dogma of the infallibility of Papal councils. The necessary presence of the human element in Church life is not sufficiently recognized.

Our "National Universities" can have only a hastily written page. So little is known amongst Dissenters of the history, condition, and objects of these splendid institutions, that we should have been pleased to have given in these pages a concise statement of the more important facts. Professor Wilkins does not give the history of the foundations of the Universities; and he only briefly states the origin of the collegiate system. His main object, as wrought out in the essay, is to show the process by which University advantages became costly and therefore conserved. Then he traces the progress from 1792 down to the present year, of the movements for the extension (by removal of tests and lessening of expense) of the great and unequalled facilities which the Universities

are capable of affording. It is an honour to the moral trueness of Nonconformists that heretofore they have not thrown away their honesty for the sake of gaining the mental culture. But now, through the operations of true liberty and justice, neither the honesty nor the culture need be lost. Religious equality has been secured; and with the new, vigorous, and progressive elements which that equality will bring into University life, learning, and government, the restrictions, waste, and bigotry yet remaining must quickly give place to righteousness, economy, and brotherly kindness. And so it is something better and surer than a dream we have of a not very distant future when every Denomination in the land, and every rank in society,—except the very poor, will have its men of University training and honours.

And so all Church problems are not solved, they are but being solved. Our generation can gain no greater glory on earth than in passing on to its successor a truer faith and a purer Church life than it received. Any honest endeavour to leave such a heritage is praiseworthy.

D. HEATH.

ART. III.—METHODISM IN 1871.

THE importance of what some seem to regard as the present *crisis* in Methodism is our apology, if any is needed, for referring again to a subject which has already been discussed in the pages of this journal.

Just prior to the last issue of the QUARTERLY, it had been ascertained that the various Methodist Churches in this country, with one exception,* had reported a decrease of members. Such a fact is, we believe, without precedent in the contemporaneous history of those churches. In most previous years, if one branch of Methodism has suffered loss, others have rejoiced over increase, so that there has probably been no aggregate diminution of the "people called Methodists." But this year they are in different case. None of them have even the negative satisfaction of belonging to a great family tree, some branches of which have flourished while others have drooped. With the trifling exception just named, they lie one and all under the same humiliation, that at the end of their year's labours they are fewer in number than they were at the beginning.

It is a very remarkable circumstance that these unhappy declensions have excited an almost universal interest and attention;—the public journals having opened their pages to correspondents favourable to Methodism or otherwise, and considered the subject not unworthy of even editorial notice. If Methodists were in any mood for complimenting themselves, they might be tempted to regard all this public notice as a tribute to the power and influence of Methodism. But we imagine they are in no such mood; for it should be as little satisfaction to churches, as it certainly would be to individuals, to command attention when they fail more than when they succeed. And yet, while there is doubtless no room for complacency, we certainly cannot recommend despondency; for it is, after all, an almost unique circumstance that a technical numerical decrease in one particular portion of the Church of Christ in this country—we regard all Methodists as congenitally, if not organically, one in these considerations, believing that they contain amongst them all that

* The exception was that of the Bible Christians, who report an increase of *one*. The exception is all too slight, but at the same time is gladly acknowledged.

pertains to the idea of Methodism as such—should have been made the subject of so much friendly and unfriendly animadversion.

The fact is, that from the beginning Methodism has been regarded as a kind of spiritual and ecclesiastical phenomenon. As a phenomenon it has scarcely been considered as falling within the laws which govern churches generally; and if not exactly a law to itself it would seem as if by common though tacit consent, a law had been made for it on purpose to which it was expected to conform rigidly and without exception. That law may be denominated *the law of numerical progress;* for it appears to have been taken for granted that whatever may be the case with regard to other churches, Methodists ought yearly to increase in number.

Now with regard to this law we do not see that we should find fault with it when fairly applied—it may be applied in an adverse as well as in a friendly spirit—but if ever, as during the past year, and probably from causes more or less sufficient to account for it, there is a diminution of numbers compared with those of the next preceding year, are we therefore, we would ask, to come to the sweeping conclusion that Methodism is on the decline? as though the law by which it is governed were nothing more than a kind of mechanical enumerator with figures extending only from Conference to Conference, whereas it is an aggressive spirit, which, although occasionally foiled, does in the main make palpable impressions upon the dominions of darkness, with respect both to the number of its own converts and its lateral influence on nearly all the churches of the land.

It may be doubted if the practice of making an annual return of the number of members is an unmixed good; nor unless there were an infallible rule for their exclusion and reception, is it decisive as to the number of Christians in Methodist fellowship. But let us not be misunderstood; for whilst we should be sorry to uphold a law which would exclude from our churches any whose evangelical piety would otherwise qualify them for membership, we are at the antipodes from that latitudinarianism which would break down the wall which encircles Christ's fold and destroy all distinctness between the sheep whom He has found and those whom He has not; who, whatever they may hereafter become, are at present lost sheep, wandering up and down in the wilderness of this world. When, therefore, we say that these annual returns are probably not of unqualified good service, we wish to remark, by way of illustration, that there are two classes of

persons for whom they have an especial, and we fear injurious, interest,—persons who look upon Methodism with altogether different eyes, and upon whom its returns have an altogether different effect.

The first of these are the friends of Methodism, who look to see if numerical progress has been made. If there has been increase, there is joy and thanksgiving; if there has been decrease, there is corresponding depression.

Now it would seem unreasonable to complain of this, only it scarcely appears that the balance of numbers being on the wrong side in any given year is of itself a sufficient reason for despondency, when, if other things were taken into account, there would be on the whole reason for thankfulness, if not congratulation. There are a great many considerations relating to Christian churches to be weighed before we can definitively say they are either retrograding or progressing; and we fully believe that some of these considerations would at present give a different aspect to Methodism from that under which some are disposed to look upon it.

But there are others who regard an occasional decrease amongst Methodists far more unfavourably than those to whom we have just referred. Methodists themselves mourn over it without losing faith in the church of their spiritual birth and subsequent intelligent choice. But the others, who, if not actually its enemies, look upon it critically and askance, regard such a fact as a manifest symptom of decay; and begin to speak and write as if what they had been pleased to consider the *phenomenon* of Methodism had run itself out, and as if having apparently ceased to be progressive, it would probably in time cease even also to be.

We believe all true Methodists are sufficiently concerned about their numerical decreases to feel the strictures of those who look upon Methodism with different eyes from their own, and at the same time be stimulated by them to greater zeal in the future. But we have no desire that these strictures should be felt more acutely than they deserve; and in order that they may not, we would suggest that the great fault of unscientific men is to form comprehensive generalizations from an inadequate number of facts. And, in the present case, the single fact of a certain decrease in the number of church members is not strong enough to bear the full weight of the stupendous deduction, that Methodism, as an organization and a spiritual power, is on the decline.

We must, however, beg to remind our readers that as far as we know *this is the only fact upon which this deduction is*

based. In all the correspondence which has taken place on this subject, friendly or otherwise, the reference has been solely to the fact of a general numerical decrease last year. Nor are we aware that in any other respect than that of numbers, Methodists have any present cause for apprehension; chapel building especially was never so rapidly extending, nor were missions, whether home or foreign, ever so liberally sustained. Of course, if such a complaint were to become chronic—if year after year there were a gradual decline—it would very soon affect all Methodist institutions. But there is no probability that the complaint will become chronic; and even with respect to the last year of all, there are not wanting facts of a very encouraging nature; whilst if we go back a few years and note the progress of a certain kind which has been made, we shall hardly be disposed to think either that Methodism has culminated, or that it has even lost much of its ancient power.

In justification of these remarks, let us refer our readers to some observations made just lately by the Rev. Joseph Hargreaves, chairman of the Manchester (Wesleyan) district, at the laying of a foundation stone of a new Wesleyan Chapel, at Cheetham Hill, Manchester. He said, "They were told by some people that Methodism was decaying and dying out; and even Lord Shaftesbury—a true friend of religion and an honour to the peerage—had said that he found Methodists were making no way. He was glad to say, however, that even last year, taking the different branches, there had been an increase to their number of something like 4,000 persons. If they calculated from the time when a certain prophet predicted that Methodism would go to nothing in a very short period, they would find there was an increase of 167,000. The number of scholars in the day-schools had increased 105,000, and the number in the Sunday schools 141,000, and a corresponding increase of 30,000 teachers. Now if that was breaking up, he hoped they would go on breaking up still more. He might say that the number of Wesleyan Methodists in this country alone was 3,000,000."

We do not understand Mr. Hargreaves as speaking of actual church members in all these figures—we wish he was—but of persons who are professedly adherents of Methodism as a religious organization. This so far detracts from a state of complete satisfaction. But as regards the numbers who attach themselves to the various religious bodies without becoming church members, Methodists are probably not in a worse case than many of their co-religionists throughout the country.

It was stated recently in the presence of the writer and others, as the opinion of some Congregationalists, that their hearers were increasing much faster than their church members, if these latter were increasing at all; and that the tendency amongst them appeared to be in the direction of larger congregations, and a diminished membership in the churches. It is, we freely admit, no justification of barrenness, to urge that probably other bodies are not much more prosperous than ourselves; but it nevertheless helps to take away the odium of the charge as aimed at some particular denomination of Christians.

While on this subject of the non-increase of church members, let us refer our readers to another consideration or two. There are some excellent laymen, who, although they do not always help their ministers as much as they might do in purely spiritual matters, frequently tell them that at *their* annual stock-taking they expect to find a balance in their favour; and they are never weary of adding that in the annual stock-taking in Christian churches there ought to be a similar result. Well, we readily admit that there ought, though not by any means for the same reasons, and would to God that there were. But we suspect there is a great fallacy underlying the assumption that spiritual and material processes are governed by the same economic laws, and that their results are to be measured by the same economic standard. The law of Christianity at large, indeed, as the law of Methodism in a smaller sphere, is one of progress: but there are ever at work in the hearts of men and peoples occult moral and spiritual influences of an opposing nature, which elude observation and cannot always be calculated upon. Indeed, even a tradesman may mis-calculate his chances, and find his success unequal to his exertions.

A merchant may make thousands one year and lose hundreds another without any apprehension that his business is generally unsound; and a church may in some particular lose some of its previous gains without giving any evidence of organic decay. If in either case the losses were continuous, and not overbalanced by larger gains, the result, as we have already intimated, would be obvious and inevitable. But if a tradesman after a score or a dozen years of labour, finds that the good years have exceeded the bad ones, and that in consequence he is richer by many thousands than he was at the beginning of that term—however much he may bemoan his losses, he cannot if he be a good man, be other than thankful to God for his gains. And so, whilst Methodists

deeply deplore their spiritual losses, let them not ungratefully forget God's past goodness; nor because under a temporary cloud imagine that the sun of prosperity will not shine upon them again.

It is, however, with recent losses that we have to do at present. Can they be attributed to any particular cause? And in the first place, we cannot admit that the cause is to be found in any of our organizations. The different Methodist bodies have all different politics, but it can hardly be in them that the fault lies, unless they are all equally wrong in their ecclesiastical arrangements, seeing they are all about equally losers. But the cause does not lie in their different politics; for although we are far from believing with Pope (if indeed he did believe it, and was not carried away by his own polished alliterations) that, with respect to any government, ecclesiastical or political,

"Whatever is best administered is best,"

yet we are equally far from believing that any particular form of church government contains within itself a specific for the conversion of sinners.

Secondly, as to the general doctrines taught amongst Methodists. Personally we feel bound to say that the more we become acquinted with them, the more we rejoice in them both in intellect and heart. In our opinion there is at present no stronger safeguard against Popery and Ritualism on the one hand, and Infidelity and Rationalism on the other, than what is to be found in the simple, dogmatic, and, as we believe, Scriptural theology weekly propounded from Methodist pulpits. When Mr. Spurgeon said the Church of England was honeycombed with Ritualism, and Dissent riddled with Scepticism, we are persuaded he did not include Methodism in the ranks of Dissent. And when we think of the convulsions which have taken place in Methodism, and reflect that after all these convulsions there has scarcely been the slightest divergence of doctrine, the fact appears to be almost extraordinary, and, we may add without bigotry, seems like the seal of God's approval upon the doctrines its ministers are privileged to teach. We see nothing then in the main features of Methodist theology to revise or improve. That it ought to be preached more fervently and persuasively, and that the preaching ought to be accompanied with more frequent demonstrations of the Spirit and of power, none would more readily admit than we. But we have no desire to bring a railing accusation against the brethren; nor can we with false humility

confess to an unfaithfulness—we do not say great imperfectness—in preaching the Gospel, of which we are sure ministers generally do not feel guilty.

Let us, however, venture to suggest one or two considerations which may probably help, though no doubt very partially, to account for the present spiritual depression.

There is, of course, one consideration, which, in the opinion of many good men, is sufficient to account for the decreases in all the Methodist bodies, and that is the want of spirituality which is said to be characteristic of them all. But however sorrowfully we admit the great lack in general, we hardly think that this alone is able to explain the present phenomenon; and this paper is more especially designed to point to what may be called some secondary causes of declension.

It has already been remarked that chapel extension was never more active than it has been during the last few years. Many of the structures of early Methodism having fallen into decay, have given place to larger, more elegant, and more costly edifices. This is no doubt very gratifying so far as the solidification of existing interests is concerned, and so far as it is indicative of a zeal for God which does not exhaust itself in the mere erection of commodious places of worship. It is to be feared, however, that sometimes money has been spent in expensive chapels which might have been better employed in other ways—such as a higher ministerial training, &c.—whilst it is well known that where there is much of this kind of work going on, it is too often to the detriment and hindrance of the more spiritual work of the church. It seems as if the two kinds of work could hardly go on together with equal success, and the highest interests are postponed to the exigencies of material consolidation. It is to be hoped, however, that when the present chapel building period has come to an end, the churches will direct their zeal into more purely spiritual channels, with a view to the highest spiritual results.

Moreover, beside considerations of this nature, there is, in the midst of all the different denominations of Methodists, one institution which, like their theology, is equally common to them all: and there is now nothing original in the inquiry if class-meetings have anything to do with this numerical decline.

Amongst Methodists the annual return of members is taken from the names which appear on the class-book. A decrease of members, therefore, means solely that there are fewer persons meeting in class than there used to be. What then does this

fact signify? Does it signify that the principles of Methodism are on the decline, or is it capable of an explanation in which this conclusion is not of necessity involved?

At the outset, let it be observed, that we believe class-meetings to be a most profitable means of grace. Nay, more; it is morally certain that there are many of whom it is scarcely too much to say that these means are almost their salvation, as being apparently the principal ones by which they are held in communion with Christ. For the sake of such, therefore, God forbid that anything should be done which would in any way tend to jeopardise their spiritual interests. At the same time it cannot be doubted that of late years a considerable change has taken place in the general estimation in which these meetings are held. They are not attended as well as they used to be, and this we suppose because they are not as much loved as they used to be. There are not wanting those who say that although they have tried them, they have never been able to enjoy them, while we know there are many who cannot be persuaded to join them at all.

However much we deplore these facts, we fear it will do little good to find fault with the low state of religion generally, as the exclusive cause of them. It is a rough and ready kind of speech to say that if there were more conversions there would be more persons meeting in class. Ministers doubtless feel the sting of the observation, and only wish they could extract it in the only way which would satisfy those who make the remark. But, however much we wish that our people would meet in class (and we do most sincerely wish that they would), we cannot admit that even in Methodism the saving operations of divine grace are conterminous with those, and only those, who consent to meet in class; and that none others are converted as the fruit of ministerial toil. And if this be correct, then it does not follow that a diminution in the number of those who meet in class is synonymous with a diminution of Methodists and a decline of Methodism, unless it be broadly maintained that none are Methodists but those who meet in class.

It is said, moreover, that the falling off in class attendance is owing to a decline of piety among Methodists; and with regard to many we are only too sorry to have to make the admission. But we cannot bring ourselves to make it wide enough to include all that is necessary in order to account for the decline of Methodism upon the hypothesis, viz., that it is owing to a general decline of piety in Methodist

churches. We cannot, we say, do this without such a wholesale and uncharitable charge of blacksliding in heart as we are by no means disposed to make. Many valuable friends never met in class at all. Is this, then, wholly owing to their want of piety, or is it possible that there may be other reasons?—something perhaps in the constitution of the class-meeting itself with which they may justifiably and conscientiously disagree?

The writer of the article on "Methodism," in the last issue of this periodical, in trying to account for the change of feeling which has come over many with regard to class-meetings, uses some words of which we may remind our readers. He says that "Methodists are not as unlettered as they used to be," and then adds, "Now culture necessarily tends to the development of self-consciousness, and this makes us sensitive to the criticisms and observations of others; and in many instances it places an almost insuperable barrier in the way of outspoken communications of inward and sacred feeling, even when these communications are made in a religious service." There is no doubt much truth in these remarks. We are open to correction, but we fancy there is generally most difficulty in getting to class the members of what are euphemistically called the "better families," who are presumably more highly cultivated and better taught than others. We do not by any means say that this is a satisfactory account of the case as regards such non-attenders, nor that it would not be necessary to add to it a few particles of social exclusiveness and pride; but we are just now in a charitable vein.

At the same time there are those who think that class-meetings themselves are calculated to create and foster a religious self-consciousness which can hardly be considered beneficial. Self examination is doubtless a sacred Christian duty; but it is possible to dissect and analyse one's feelings in order to give an intelligent, rational account of them until the feelings themselves evaporate—like as it were dissecting a rose to get at the odour—in the very act you destroy the rich, elegant flower, and scatter the perfume. And as to some minds it is conceivable that may acquire something like a distaste for class-meetings, through the weekly enunciation of their experiences, of whom nevertheless it cannot certainly be said that they are less spiritually minded than their neighbours.

The question in many minds seems to resolve itself into this:—Is the class-meeting essential to the idea of Methodism, and ought class-meetings to be the grand condition of membership in Methodist churches? And we shall honestly be glad

to be helped to a solution of the question by the opinions of such as consider it worthy of their attention.

In speaking, however, of so venerable an institution as that of class-meetings having lost the place in the estimation of Methodists which it used to occupy, there is this mitigating circumstance, that the modern class-meeting did not enter essentially into the idea of Methodism at the outset. It did not form an integral part of it—something without which there could be no such thing as Methodism—and, therefore, logically at any rate, the class-meeting can scarcely be considered as essential to Methodist membership. Of course, we fully admit the right of a society of Christians to impose any condition of membership which it thinks proper. But that is beside the present question, which is, whether class-meetings *as a test of membership* [this and nothing more is here intended] are essential to Methodism? and we venture to think not. The fact is, as Richard Watson says, their origin was "purely accidental," and what is more, they were instituted at first solely for the purpose of raising money. Bristol Chapel was in debt, and in order to reduce the burden it was agreed that each member of society should contribute one penny per week. For this purpose the society was divided into classes, and one person was appointed to collect these weekly pence from each class, and to pay the amount to the stewards. But Mr. Wesley was too astute an organizer not to see that in the then state of his societies, a system of this sort, established for spiritual as well as pecuniary purposes, might be of very great service; and, accordingly, the society in London was divided into classes like those at Bristol, and placed under the spiritual care of tried and experienced persons. At first they visited each person at his own residence, but at length the present mode of bringing together each class weekly was adopted, and so it continues to this day.

We have no desire in these historical references to reflect in any way upon an institution which has rendered such essential service both spiritually and financially; but only to submit that there is nothing sacrilegious in referring to the present relation of class-meetings to Methodism, as though they were absolutely of divine origin. It has indeed been suggested that their origin was providential rather than "accidental," as said by Mr. Watson. This we readily admit, as no doubt would Watson himself, who was simply looking at their origin from their human side. But however deeply and sincerely we deplore the fact, it will hardly be denied that, in the course of the same divine provi-

dence, they are not as great a spiritual power as they used to be, and that neither are they financially of as much importance as they were in former days.

We do not wish to see class-meetings abolished. Let them be continued and made more profitable as a means of grace. The question which is being raised is, shall none be members of our churches but those who meet in class? Not either that we desire a subsidiary or collateral condition of membership—as, for example, some being class members, and others sacramental members. This dual system has been tried in one place we know; but it practically excludes from membership some who are otherwise eligible. We remember being told by a very respectable person that however ready the church might be to receive her as a member by simply partaking of the Lord's Supper, she knew she could only properly be a member by meeting in class. Besides, we should think it undesirable on any ground to have two kinds of membership in our churches. And with regard more especially to this question of being members by meeting at the Lord's Table, we cannot see that any one church can constitute it *the* condition of membership, when it ought to be equally *a* condition of membership in all churches. We mean this—it may be allowed that a person may be a Christian, although for reasons more satisfactory to himself, probably, than to any one else, he may refrain from joining any particular church; but we cannot allow him to be a Christian if he practically disobeys his Master, by neglecting the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, or admit that he does more than his duty by regularly attending to it. And, therefore, since, as a Christian, he is in duty bound to commemorate his Lord's death, whether he is a member of any church or not, it follows that no particular community can constitute that commemoration the peculiar condition of membership with itself, when it is not less an essential condition of membership with all. Is there, then, any third course open, to which little exception could be taken? And we will only say to our readers that the suggestion has been made that nothing more should be required for admission into our churches, than a simple declaration of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world. Of course it is to be understood that there should be, first of all, a felt personal interest in the Saviour, on the part of the person seeking admission. It is to be understood, also, that the declaration of faith should harmonise with the views concerning Christ of the church in which fellowship is sought, and that the candidate should be required, as now, to obey all Christian

ordinances, and live a godly, righteous, and sober life. We do not adopt these views as our own, but simply place them before our readers for consideration, though we feel bound to say we do not see anything in them either dangerous or offensive.

With regard, however, to the general question, this much we fear is only too evident: if we adopt a new condition of membership we shall probably hurt the feelings and thwart the convictions of many valuable friends; whilst if we remain as we are, we shall certainly exclude from our fellowship many we should like to receive. The dilemma is an unhappy one, and our only wish is that we could see our way out of it. But time and God's blessing will resolve all difficulties. In the meanwhile it will be our wisdom to watch vigilantly the silent revolution which is certainly going on in our midst, and, if possible, so to control and direct its forces that, under the Great Head of the Church, it may issue in a more glorious career for Methodism in the time to come. For the present, let us be courageous, let us be strong. For our own part, we would far rather overrate than underrate the importance of our past declensions; yet we would not break down under them, as though Methodism as a spiritual organization had failed, and was coming to an end. Such is not our belief. And if it be that we are passing through a season of trial, we can only pray that in the process we may lose only what is accidental, and retain in its fulness everything that is essential, and then we have no fear that the Methodists of the future will be more holy, more useful, and more numerous than ever.

H. L. T.

ART. IV.—LAY REPRESENTATION AND THE WESLEYAN CONFERENCE.

Laymen in Conference? By T. PERCIVAL BUNTING. Stock. 1871.

THE appearance some months back of the pamphlet placed at the head of this article occasioned no little surprise in Methodist circles, and excited some interest in the ecclesiastical world generally. Considering the associations of the writer, and the subject with which he deals, we are not astonished that there should have been such eagerness to become acquainted with his views. Respectful attention is sure to be given to anything from the pen of the son of Dr. Bunting, especially on matters touching Methodistic policy. Since the days of Wesley no man has had equal influence with Dr. Bunting in shaping Wesleyanism to what it now is;—he is universally credited with being its master ecclesiastical legislator; its laws have been stamped with his impress, its schemes and institutions have been worked from his inspiration; we are inclined therefore, to give a willing hearing when his son comes forward to tell us what Wesleyanism should be in the future. Besides, Mr. T. Percival Bunting has a claim to be heard on personal grounds. He has long sat on some of the most important committees of his denomination; he has taken a leading part in the debates of these committees; he knows as much of the inner ecclesiastical workings of the body as any layman can know; so far, therefore, as the possession of experience and the confidence of his brethren constitute, a claim to be heard he speaks with more than usual authority. There is no pouring forth of personal disaffection in this pamphlet; the writer does not come forward as the advocate of change because he has suffered from the exclusiveness of which other laymen have cause to complain; he is careful to tell us he dislikes the business of an ecclesiastical reformer, and even had he not distinctly avowed this fact it were easy enough, from the pages before us, to make the discovery. We assure him, then, we can most conscientiously spare him the charge of ecclesiastical radicalism he seems so much to dread. We offer him our sympathy in the "certain indignity" he has brought to himself in becoming a pamphleteer, and in the pain it gives him to be an innovator; implicitly believing he

has been led to this course because he is sagacious enough to discern that the present system bodes future difficulty, and must be changed, or, sooner or later, another mournful Wesleyan conflict is inevitable.

The distinguishing feature of Wesleyanism, as compared with other ecclesiastical systems, is the exclusive legislative functions and ruling disciplinary power claimed by its ministers, or perhaps, as they would prefer to say, entrusted to them. It is said by Isaac Taylor, in his book on Methodism, that the Wesleyan constitution is constructed

"On a principle which is at variance with that of every Protestant Church, and which is in harmony with nothing but the loftiest and most arrogant pretensions of the Romish hierarchy . . . . In respect of the position of the ministers toward the people, which is that of irresponsible 'lords of God's heritage,' the professedly Christian world is thus parted: on the one side stand all Protestant Churches, Episcopal and non-Episcopal, Wesleyanism excepted; on the other side stand the Church of Rome, with its sympathising adherents—the malcontents of the English Church, and—the Wesleyan Conference. This position maintained *alone* by a Protestant body, must be regarded as false in principle, and as in an extreme degree ominous." P. 268.

We are ready to admit that this is strong language, but it does no more than single out with bold and naked prominence the distinguishing principle of the system, looked at purely in its ecclesiastical aspect. It is this principle, more than any other, which has separated between the Wesleyans and other bodies, drawing the former more and more into the enclosure of Wesleyanism, and operating to discourage manifestations of sympathy on the part of the latter. And may it not be said that if the denomination stood alone in the particular named when Isaac Taylor penned his book, it stands more conspicuously alone now? The tendency of the Churches of late years has been entirely on the line of concession towards lay rights and influence. In every Protestant community the clergy are lowering their claims to exclusiveness of legislative and disciplinary functions. The clergy of the Established Church of this country have no such power. It is not always they have been permitted to meet in Convocation, and now the sufferance is conceded to them, Convocation has no authority. They are ruled by the State, and can change no doctrine, or form, or law, save by the enactment of the State. And supposing this State connection to cease, does any one suppose that the laity would be excluded from the legislative and governing assemblies of the Church? Whatever may be

the ambition of the Romanizing part of the clergy, assuredly dis-establishment will never be granted on such conditions. It appears to us that one of the subsidiary designs of these Congresses and Synods convened in modern times, is to train the laity to take their part in the future working of the Church. The dis-established Episcopal Church of Ireland begins its new career with a constitution which gives a place to the laity. The Presbyterian Churches of all sections, through all the stages of church business, cordially allow to the laity a share in it. Nothing can be done in the Congregational and Baptist bodies without the concurrence of the elected lay officers, or of the members of the church as a whole. The minor bodies of Dissenters act upon the same principle. The four or five sections of Methodism which are separated from Wesleyanism, and some of which have separated on this very ground, make the concurrence of the laity essential to the enactment of laws and the exercise of discipline. It is the same with the free and flourishing churches of the United States of America. Since the adoption of lay representation by the Methodist Episcopal Church there—a church largely exceeding the Wesleyans here—we know not of one, unless it be on the old ground where slavery flourished, in which a liberal share is not claimed by the laity in church government and action. Wesleyanism at home, and in its branches in the colonies, has the proud but unenviable pre-eminence of standing alone in the exclusiveness and absoluteness of the power possessed by its ministers.

There are, however, signs that this ecclesiastical singularity cannot be permanently maintained. Reserved and almost unfraternal, self-contained and self-sufficient, as Wesleyanism has shewn itself to be in the past, it is now feeling the modifying influence of the example and principles of other churches. There is an evident uneasiness in respect to the anomalous position it occupies. However much exclusiveness of ministerial rule may be reserved as a right, it is to some extent surrendered in practice. In what other light can the appointment of the mixed committees of review be regarded? They concede the fact that the Church has need of the counsel and support of the laity. Admitting all the anomalies and irregularities involved in the appointment and working of these committees—so tenderly spoken of by Mr. Bunting—they at least establish this conclusion, that the laity must be allowed a voice and influence in Wesleyan affairs. There may have been no formal compact established between the Conference and these committees; it is, however, well understood that

the committees are to shape the Wesleyan policy, and the Conference is to confirm it. Another sign of the change taking place is the partial agitation for lay representation there has been in Ireland. Another and more significant sign is found in the fact that a resolution bearing on the subject was introduced to the last Conference by one of its most sagacious members. It may be true that the resolution only suggested inquiry—we are not aware that its exact terms have been made public; true also that the reception given to it was not cheering, that the well-instructed Conference reporters only gave a shadowy outline of the discussion upon it, that finally in deference to the prevailing opinion it had to be withdrawn; but, with all these tokens of caution and reserve, and even discouragement, the question has now obtained a hearing in Conference, it has the sympathy of some of the more advanced of its ministers, and we have hope that, slowly it may be, but not the less surely, its principle will so gain upon the judgment and heart of the Conference until at last the wall of separation will be broken down, and laymen found side by side with the ministers.

We have not been surprised to notice, as intimated in one of the Wesleyan newspapers, that the gentlemen at present sitting on these committees are not enamoured of this subject of lay representation, and do not seem very eager for a change. The writer seems half to wonder they did not indicate enthusiasm about it, and is ready to construe its absence as the sign of a general unconcern on the subject. The absence of the enthusiasm may be explained apart from the interpretation the writer is inclined to give to it. Who are the members of the mixed committees? Those gentlemen for the most part who belong, to use Mr. Bunting's phrase, to the Wesleyan "aristocracy of better class people." They are persons of wealth and social influence, and for the help they are able to render in this way, in conjunction with other qualities, they become the Conference nominees. So long as committees continue to be constituted largely by Conference invitation, and the Conference can depend upon the faithful service of those invited, so long may such persons be sure of a place on the committees. Let the composition of the committees be analysed for some years past, and the analysis will sustain the remarks just made. With anything like a fair and impartial system of lay representation, would the present privileged class have the same place and influence in Wesleyanism they have now? No doubt there are some members of the class would rise to higher place and influence; we are assured also that not a few

of them would have to retire to the cold shade of exclusion. We credit them with sagacity sufficient to discern this. Is it surprising, therefore, if it should appear that these gentlemen have no great eagerness that the present system should be changed? Were members of Parliament, in the snug and safe enjoyment of pocket borough seats, enthusiastic for measures of reform and re-distribution? It is rare to see enthusiasm for measures which endanger personal privilege and influence.

Notwithstanding that the aristocracy of Wesleyanism may shew few signs of desire for change, we confidently anticipate a change will come. There are few persons who think that the present system can last. It may approve itself to the circle of nominees, and to the Conservatives who live in dread of the encroachments of modern liberalism; but it cannot for long meet with favour from the large class who liberally give their support and service to Wesleyanism, but are utterly excluded from exerting any influence upon its government. The government which secures the most loyal allegiance from a people is that upon which the people are able to impress their own influence and control; the government which refuses to recognise the rights and influence of the people is despotic in its nature, and is sure to breed dissatisfaction. Then the present system, if system it can be called, is full of anomalies. Let us exhibit the constitution of one of these committees as described in Mr. Bunting's own graphic words:—

"Here was a miscellaneous gathering of members and non-mem-members, all talking, proposing, seconding, supporting, opposing, and even voting, at their pleasure, and on equal terms. He might have heard, had he attended on one occasion, one non-member move, and another second, a resolution devoting many thousands of pounds to an excellent Connexional object, both gentlemen, however, having a generous local bias; and he would afterwards learn that the Conference had acted on the recommendation. At all times every member of the family seemed to be welcome to the prerogatives of office, and competent to wield them. The younger brother, *not* of ten years' standing, whose duty it was (not, I think, one which should be imposed on even the younger minister), to communicate between the assembly and the post-office, stopped in his course along the aisles, and held up his hand, since voting was going on, for something, he scarcely knew what. The kind host, though never having been, and by no means intending to be, a member of any of our churches, but invited by some grateful guest, came to listen, was deeply interested, and voted for or against a motion involving, perhaps, a vital point of our economy. The liberal clergyman of the town even, and the Dissenting minister, went in and out amongst us. Long defunct Methodists looked in to see what the old life was like. Once, I

recollect, the presence of these foreign elements gave a very unpleasant aspect to the scene. 'Children not' ours, and who, evidently, had never 'trod' our 'nursery floor,' made strange noises, when they heard what did not please them, and clamoured for a division, when dinner-time approached. I cannot recognise in all this any fair or profitable application of the principle of lay-representation."

It is unnecessary to comment upon such a constitution of committees. A system so wanting in definiteness of outline and principle cannot be permanently retained. It is understood that a committee appointed by Conference has recently sat to re-consider the system. If the rumours which have come to Mr. Bunting, as detailed in pages 14 and 15 of his pamphlet, be correct, that the committees are still to be constituted by invitation, and that the persons thus invited need not be members of society, anything more incongruous and arbitrary we cannot imagine. We believe wiser counsels will prevail. The Conference cannot take back what it has already given. It has, indirectly it is true, and perhaps for its own purposes of convenience, given a place to lay influence, and the gift cannot now be withdrawn. Nor can the two modes of constituting the committees, by invitation and representation, work together. Invitation means favouritism; those whom Conference nominates are those who will echo its policy and aims. As a system it has no elements of justice and freedom in it. We can conceive of it being so used as to place the richer laity on one side, and the poorer on the other, and so to operate for purposes of repression. For our part we had rather place the ruling power in the hands of the clergy exclusively, than with them and a class of laymen who are picked to do their bidding. The system as it now stands is indefensible on any principle of equity or liberty. We do not wonder Mr. Bunting should say it must go. His sagacity, if not his liberalism, leads him to the simple, practical, safe conclusion:—"Abolish altogether the Mixed Committees of Review."

We have followed the writer, then, to this conclusive renunciation of the existing system: we come now to the plan he offers in its place. It is:—"Throw the doors of Conference open to duly selected representatives of the laity." It must be admitted this proposition carries considerable boldness on the face of it. It presents an aspect of great liberality. It seems to concede to the laity their just rights and influence. It appears to bring Wesleyanism up, or down, as the reader may choose to put it, to the level of other churches. There are persons who may hastily conclude there can be no further objection raised or concession demanded.

We venture, however, to say that the liberalism of Mr. Bunting's proposition is more in appearance than reality. He offers the form, but withholds the substance. If he proposed to admit the lay representatives into Conference to share in the whole business of Conference, we should heartily express our approval of the proposal, and if this were granted we should think that substantially, with one exception we will hereafter name, everything had been gained which need be gained. But this is precisely what he does not propose; he would have the representatives admitted subject to "just and indispensable restrictions." It is of these restrictions we complain. They are excessive and unreasonable; they establish a distinction and separation in church legislation and discipline artificial and unscriptural; the representation hedged in by such conditions would be worthless. It will be a surprise to us if the laity should accept such restrictions at all, or in any case as more than a temporary resting-stage to proceed to further demands. Let us examine the restrictions, and our readers will judge how far the opinion we have pronounced is appropriate and just.

The first restriction would exclude laymen from all legislative and disciplinary control over the ministers of the church. We will give Mr. Bunting's own words:—"No mixed assembly, therefore, should be suffered to intermeddle with questions relating to the admission or expulsion of ministers. Enquiries into doctrinal views, personal character, and general eligibility for their work,—everything which relates to the status of a minister, as such,—are to be peremptorily excluded from lay interference." With any question, then, which relates to the conduct, or doctrines, or service of ministers, the lay-representatives must have nothing to do. Has a minister been guilty of immorality? He must be judged alone by members of his own order. Does he teach unsound doctrine? The representatives of the churches which receive his teachings must be allowed no part in controlling the decision on his case. Are his services indolent and feeble, and has he insufficient competency for his work? Even on a question like this, so vitally affecting the churches which receive and support his services, they can have no voice in the final judgment given. In none of these or similar cases is the judgment to reflect the opinion or will of the laity; it must be purely that of the ministerial order.

Now, an assumption of vast import is put forward here, and one we are not disposed unhesitatingly to receive. The claim advanced is one to be admitted only when carefully and strongly

sustained; and this is exactly what Mr. Bunting does not do, and, indeed, hardly attempts to do. He makes shadowy allusions to New Testament principles, but offers no specific reference to the places where these principles are given. He hastily passes from this part of his subject, and then, next to the New Testament, as conclusive authority with Wesleyans, he makes an appeal to the Deed-poll. But a Deed-poll can never authoritatively bind the consciences of men as to what is wise or not wise, right or not right, on questions of Church government. Besides, there has been a considerable departure from the provisions of the Deed-poll already. The Legal Hundred is not now the Wesleyan Conference. All the deliberation, legislation, and administration of the denomination is done by an assembly which has no legal existence, and the Legal Hundred has degenerated to the function of formally approving and registering the decisions of another assembly. If, as is further proposed, the Deed-poll can be so stretched or evaded as to admit laymen to Conference, then the plea that it does not permit of laymen taking a part in decisions touching ministerial competency and conduct, lacks, to use Mr. Bunting's phrase, "all force, pertinence, and consistency." If it be in harmony with the Deed to admit laymen to Conference at all, then they can be admitted to share in the whole of its business.

But to come back to the point; we challenge the assumption that ministers alone are to sit in judgment upon ministers, and that the churches as such, upon all questions of ministerial teaching, conduct, and services, have no right to join in the judgment. Is this claim advanced because the ministerial order can never become corrupted by selfishness, elated by pride, enslaved by indolence, and warped by error? Is it because it is exempt from "like passions" with others, immaculate and infallible? It is nearer the truth to say that this assumption on behalf of ministers, so far from having been the safeguard of the purity and truth of the churches, has been the root of the most wide-spread perverseness and error. No class is fitted by itself to have this monopoly of power. The Church of Rome at an early period succeeded in gaining this monopoly for her clergy. With what result? That the teachings of this church have been warped by class interest and influence. Every doctrine has been shaped and coloured to contribute increased influence to the priesthood. For this purpose successive dogmas have been established. And this process has advanced, crowned at last by the dogma of the Pope's infallibility, until this church now claims the

most abject prostration of reason, crushes every rising of independence, and places her followers under a yoke of slavery frightful to contemplate. So far from the clergy having kept the faith in its purity, there is no church in which the faith has been so much perverted. Next perhaps to this church the Established Church of this country allows to her clergy the most unchecked prerogative and power in teaching and conduct. It is true that long ago the State fixed the articles, ritual, and canons by which they must be governed, and if their teachings or conduct glaringly and grossly depart from the authorized standards, then by a tedious and costly process, seldom undertaken, they can be brought to account; but practically the system so operates as to give to the clergy an unfettered license. The members of the local congregation or church can neither choose the minister nor dismiss him, and have in reality no control over him. He is pecuniarily independent of them; he can forbid any other minister to intrude into his domain; and in many cases they must receive the teachings and join in the worship of their church through him, or be shut out from its service. How does this monopoly of power on the part of the clergy operate? While it preserves a mechanical and outward uniformity, it breaks up all true unity. It leads to great diversity and contrariety of teaching. On the one hand there are close approximations to Roman Catholicism, even in its most superstitious forms; on the other hand there is a rebound toward the extreme of Rationalism. This is so, because, as nearly as possible, the clergy are irresponsible teachers. Each minister can say that which his own judgment thinks good; those to whom he ministers are deprived of all practical power of control; the result is the Established Church has no unity of teaching. Now we have taken these illustrations, not of course to imply a general resemblance between the Wesleyan Church and the churches just named, but to shew the working of the principle contended for where it has scope for unchecked development. In the Wesleyan Church, as in all voluntary churches, there are many indirect checks at work, so that what is wrong in theory is more or less counterbalanced by what is good in practice. We condemn the principle of exclusion that the laity have no right to share in the judgment passed on ministerial conduct and teaching; it is a principle which, if unchecked in its application, will result in great spiritual perversion.

Another restriction under which it is proposed to place laymen on their admission to Conference, is that they must take no part in the election to connexional offices, and have

no control over ministerial appointments. It is to be retained as the undisturbed prerogative of the ministerial order to fill all connexional offices. We need scarcely point out the important part which those holding high offices in the denomination take in connexional legislation and administration. Their relation to the Conference is not unlike the relation of the members of the Cabinet to the House of Commons. They are men of commanding ability and debating power, and familiar with the secret and intricate parts of the connexional machine. Placed at the head of different departments, influence in many forms inevitably falls to them; the nomination for many appointments, and the initiation of lines of policy, must rest largely with them. Relieved also of those fatigues and cares of circuit work which are great barriers to legislative and adminstrative influence, they are free to give to connexional interests much of energy and application. The consequence is that really to a great extent, and more so in appearance, Conference work and decisions are in their hands. Strike out of the reports of Conference proceedings the names and speeches of the connexional officers, and in many cases it would seem that there would be little to report. Such a monopoly of the ear of Conference have certain speakers, that we have sometimes wondered if a dozen of them were suppressed, whether any one besides would have anything to say. Now, with the centralizing tendencies of connexionalism on the one hand; with the principle of an itinerancy for all the ordinary ministers, which from time to time severs local ties and scatters local influence; it is evident how great must be the influence these connexional officers wield.

And yet it is claimed that the appointment to such offices must rest entirely with the ministers of the body. No popular impulse or judgment must be allowed to operate. The churches, through their representatives, must have no voice. The training of the ministers is of great moment; so is the working of the departments of missions; and yet the laity must be rigidly shut out from any control over the appointments to such offices, and equally so in respect to the more secular departments of the chapel and educational affairs.

It is further insisted that the same exclusion should be maintained with respect to all ordinary ministerial appointments. The power to make these appointments must continue to rest with the ministers themselves, or practically with the elected few who reflect the will of the majority of the Conference. Few systems could be contrived more fitted, if designedly worked, to subdue refractory and independent

tendencies on the part of both ministers and circuits, and to lead to unhealthy submission to the reigning ecclesiastical rule. We admit that in ordinary times, when there are no troublesome agitations and threatening divisions, the present mode of regulating ministerial appointments acts with tolerable smoothness. It is not worked despotically but generously, and ministers and people are left to adjust their relations to each other according to mutual arrangement and choice. Wealthy circuits paying larger salaries invite and obtain the consent of popular ministers to serve them, and generally the Stationing Committee, greatly to its own convenience and the satisfaction of the circuits, merely ratifies the private arrangement made. The system operates smoothly just because the arbitrary element in it is allowed to slumber, and indirectly, by allowing the circuits to make their own terms with ministers, the popular influence is largely admitted. But suppose troublesome times to exist, as they have existed in the past. Exciting and conflicting opinions are raised; the community is stirred from its centre to its circumference. Certain ministers are advocating measures too radical and reforming in their nature to please the powers that be; certain circuits also are manifesting signs of bold innovation or insubordinate independence. It is not difficult to think of such conditions. They have existed in the denomination in the past, and there are unsettled questions which may create them again. See then how odiously and tyrannically this power, in the hands of a class or oligarchy, of ruling ministerial appointments is likely to operate. How easy it is to station obnoxious ministers in localities where their influence can be reduced to the narrowest compass. Are there not quiet, out-of-the-way places where thought is stagnant, prejudice strong, and social influence weak? Are their not circuits where labours are exhausting, salaries low, and domestic comforts scanty? Cannot the agitating influence of such brethren be weakened by drawing their energy into other channels and exhausting it in an abundance of other labour? It can hardly be conceived that the powers that be would consent to have such independent and reforming brethren placed in the centres of Methodist intelligence and power. And how would the prerogative be exercised toward innovating and insubordinate circuits? Could these circuits secure ministers of congenial temperament and thought? Would they be permitted thus to increase their influence, and render themselves increasingly unmanageable by Conference? The men would be sent whom Conference could trust to grapple with opponents,—men judicious, firm, sagacious, —men to sustain prerogative, uphold discipline, and work

out definite purposes. The final result would be, as it hitherto has been, that in their conflict with Conference such circuits must yield. This power to rule ministerial appointments without regard to the choice of ministers or circuits, also to change the appointments at the termination of any year, operates to bend refractory ministers and circuits to Conference policy more than anything besides. The oneness of Wesleyanism—the sameness of views and conduct so frequently noticed as a characteristic of her ministers—their shyness and reserve, at least until of late, in respect to all social and public questions; on the other side, the submission of the people to Conference rule, the habit of almost unquestioning allegiance to which they seem to be trained, are more due to this cause than to any other. Again and again there have been times of great refractoriness and discontent, but these elements have been vigorously eliminated, and so the level of Wesleyan uniformity and oneness has been maintained. Nothing has tended so much to this as the centralised power possessed by the Conference to appoint ministers without control or balance on the part of the laity, or of the churches taken as a whole.

It is one of the most objectionable features in the Established Church of this nation that, with few exceptions, the local congregation or church has no choice in the selection of its minister. The patron can force upon it any clergyman he is pleased to appoint He can compel its members to receive a successor the most opposite in his views and character to the minister they have esteemed and loved. The people belonging to the Establishment, educated in the knowledge of their helplessness, for the most part rest in craven acquiescence. And yet essentially this uncontrolled power which the patrons in the Established Church have is possessed by the clerical Stationing Committee of the Wesleyan Conference.

It is this centralized power in the Papacy of governing the appointment of the priests, of separating them from the choice of the people, which is strengthening the reaction known by the name of the Old Catholic movement. It has been and is now agitated in some parts of the Roman Catholic world, that the parishes should have the appointment of their priests. The discovery has been made that when a central authority has the power to control clerical appointments this power will rule the spirit and character of the clergy so appointed, and separate them in interest from the people to whom they are sent. In the conflict between central authority and local power the latter must yield. Experience is teaching the Catholics this lesson. Hence their cry for the liberty to appoint their own

priests. In this they are right. The clergy will never be one in interest and sympathy with the people until their appointment is made dependent upon the choice of the people.

We object, then, for the reasons we have indicated to this "just and indispensable" restriction to which Mr. Bunting proposes to make lay representation subject. The restriction has no justice in it. Wherein it is indispensable we do not know, unless the Deed-poll makes it so; and we can only say if that legal instrument can be so stretched as to cover lay-representation in Conference, then it can be so stretched as to admit the same representation in the Stationing Committee. It is one of the draw-backs of the itinerancy, even when most liberally and equitably worked, that, by involving the frequent rupture of local ties and the displacement of local attachments, it tends to withdraw ministers from vital sympathy with the people, and in the place of this to draw them into closer sympathy with their order; but an itinerancy worked exclusively by a central ministerial power, over which the laity have no control whatever, tends in this direction with a tenfold force. The system is one which tempts to ministerial servility, not perhaps toward the people, but assuredly so toward the Conference. The relation of a minister to a circuit is temporary; his relation to the Conference is to last for a life-time; let the conflict between Conference and people come, and there can be little doubt on which side his influence will be ranged. There is no point which Wesleyan history makes more clear than this.

Another of the restrictions it is proposed to impose upon laymen admitted to Conference is that they must be allowed no voice in questions relating to the admission or exclusion of Church members and officers. Mr. Bunting considers New Testament principles and his individual rights to be involved in the ministerial prerogative to deal with such questions. He is not inclined to disturb the settlement of 1852, does "not intend to abandon the principles then established." We wish he had with explicitness and fulness stated what these principles are. We suppose one of the principles then established is that ministers, by their own right and power, admit persons to membership, subject to this qualification, "when appealed to, the leaders have the power to say who *shall not* be admitted to society; but it is for their ministers to say who *shall* be admitted." And another principle is the yet more absolute power of ministers with respect to the exclusion of members. We believe there is some provision for the trial of members by the lower courts, but the superintendent solely is to

determine the character and measure of the penalty to be inflicted; and against the judgment of the lower courts he can carry a case to the higher courts, composed entirely of those belonging to the ministerial order; so that the church, as such, can have no control over the final judgment. We suppose another principle is, by reserving to ministers the right to nominate to all offices in Wesleyanism, to continue with them the fountain of all power; the Quarterly Meetings and Leaders' Meetings to be composed solely of the minister's nominees. Another principle is that the unofficial or private members of the church, in respect to matters of government, have no rights, that neither by representation nor by presence must they take any part in its legislation or administration. And a further principle of the settlement of 1852, is that the minister must still have the power to determine all the resolutions or subjects fit or not fit to be introduced to church meetings, and also in respect to all memorials fit or not fit to be placed before Conference; the meetings to be dissolved when he vacates the chair, and all business afterwards attempted to be carried on, to be treated as null and void. We believe we have stated no more than Mr. Bunting implies in the few sentences he has given to this part of his subject. So far as he is concerned he would guarantee to ministers all the absolutism they at present possess, and only on the acceptance of this condition would he consent for lay representatives to be admitted.

These, then, are the conditions under which it is proposed to ask for the admission of laymen into Conference. They are to be "peremptorily excluded," first, from all discussion and action in relation to matters which concern the purity and competency of the ministerial order; secondly, from all influence over ministerial appointments and connexional offices; thirdly, from all interference with ministers in their authority to admit and exclude members, and generally to control church discipline. Subject to these "just and indispensable" restrictions the Conference is invited to throw its doors open to duly selected lay representatives!

We now ask, supposing the representatives thus appointed to have come within the hitherto barred enclosure, what is there for them to do? Mr. Bunting has specified the classes of questions with which they may not meddle; we wish he had thrown some light upon those they are at liberty to take up. Here is a line of remark he has been slow to pursue. Surely his subject has a positive as well as a negative side. Having so carefully defined the tender and vital parts of church organization and work which laymen must not touch, he might have

indicated, if not expatiated on, the subjects they may be permitted to discuss. We cannot think that he asks a place for them in Conference as a barren distinction, but that an important legialstive and administrative province may be opened to them. We trust we shall be pardoned if we venture to give a faint outline of that part of his subject he has failed to set forth.

We suppose, then, it will be open to laymen to discuss all measures which are designed to promote the financial enlargement and strength of Wesleyanism. They will be at liberty to bring their wisdom and liberality to bear upon the denominational Funds ,and to strike out and perfect plans by which these can be placed on the most prosperous basis. The Chapel Fund will be a pre-eminently suitable subject for lay discussion ;—how the best chapels can be built with the least encumbrance of debt, and how they can be best worked so as to yield the highest available income. The missions of Wesleyanism have been the glory of the denomination. There is a fine field for deliberation opened by the question—how can these missions be more efficiently sustained and increased ? The fund for disabled and aged ministers has scarcely its equal in any other church. All honour to the body which makes such systematic provision for its ministers worn out by sickness and service, and does not throw them upon the uncertain relief of a casual charity. The Fund for the support of preachers' children adds mightily to the strength and comfort of an itinerancy. The schools for the education of preachers' children, and the colleges for the training of young ministers, are noble institutions. The steadiness and prosperity of Wesleyan finances have hitherto been the marvel and admiration of other churches, and here is a department in which the administrative talents and charitable impulses of lay brethren may find grand scope for their utmost development.

Other subjects which may be safely entrusted to lay discussion are those which relate to the aggressive efforts of the denomination. The lay-represesentatives may devise and mature plans which will give to Wesleyanism greater enlargement and influence in public estimation. Home mission enterprise, extension projects, educational work, evangelistic labour, and schemes generally which tend to the building up of the power of the denomination, without narrowing ministerial prerogative and influence, are currents in which lay sympathy and support may be conveniently directed.

Are the lay-representatives to be allowed the liberty of discussing the righteousness or unrighteousness of certain

social and political questions? This is not directly affirmed, but the leaning of the writer evidently points to this issue. He complains of the hurry with which Conference pronounced upon such subjects as the Irish Glebe Bill, the Contagious Diseases Act, and the Permissive and Burials' Bills; and asks if the Methodist laity have no opinion on these and like questions. It is an evident uneasiness with him that the utterances of Conference on these points are purely clerical utterances. Whether the Conference on these subjects has failed to express Mr. Bunting's views we know not; we have some suspicion that he fears it is too rapidly departing from its old conservative landmarks. However, be this as it may, we are glad to think that as a lay member of the body he considers he has the right to assist in shaping its public decisions on such important questions. We ventured some time back to say in this journal that, careful as the Conference had been to preserve a cold neutrality toward social and political questions in the past, an avoidance of them would be more difficult in the future. Its subsequent action has exceeded our anticipation. It now deals with such questions; and be the laity of Wesleyanism Tories, Whigs, or Radicals, they cannot be content to allow purely ministerial utterances to go forth as the decision of the whole body.

We cannot but pronounce this attempt to advocate lay rights and influence in the Church as timorous, incomplete, and unsatisfactory. There is nothing in it which the most conservative Wesleyan might not have written. We suspect a strong conservative purpose has governed the writer in the work he has undertaken; he proposes, by a timely concession, liberal in name and semblance, to weaken, and if possible frustrate, the demand for a more equitable and radical change. We can hardly affect surprise that so it should be. The son of Dr. Bunting does not come forward as a Wesleyan ecclesiastical reformer. It is not his purpose to weaken but to strengthen the distinguishing principle of the denomination. Considering the high pretensions the Wesleyan Conference has put forth—the right it has maintained to the exclusive government of the denomination—we cannot wonder that a person in such close alliance with it should be unable or unwilling to cut away the ground for such pretensions. But not the less do we regret the lack of a full and frank recognition of the reasonable and scriptural rights of the laity to take their part in the whole of church legislation and discipline. This attempt to constitute two Conferences—one for the clergy solely, and another for the clergy and laity combined—to separate church legislation and

discipline into two departments, one of which must have no control over the other—is wrong in principle and indefensible in policy. To give the idea in Dr. Arnold's phrase, "the Church is not an institution of the clergy, but a living society of all Christians." The Church is one; all its members are united by a joint, if not equal, responsibility and rights and privileges. They are all accountable for the preservation of its purity and truth, and the accomplishment of its work. There are, indeed, different offices in the Church, but there is no office which gives to one class the exclusive right to legislate and rule, and places the other under the unconditional obligation to submit and obey. One of the fundamental errors of Wesleyanism—an error strongly running through this pamphlet—is in the exaggerated power it claims for the pastorate. According to Conference teachings the pastorate alone has the prerogative to appoint to church offices, to give final judgment as to what is true in spiritual teaching, and the final decision as to the guilt and penalty of church offenders. We believe this claim to be an unscriptural assumption; it is antagonistic to every principle of ecclesiastical independence and liberty; it has been at the root of every conflict, loss, and secession by which Wesleyanism has been hitherto afflicted; it cannot be retained without breeding jealousy and agitation in the future as it has done in the past. And yet this is the very claim which Mr. Bunting is attempting to strengthen and perpetuate; all the "fencing" he has elaborated is intended to give it a better safeguard. Wesleyanism, as an evangelistic mission, has been a great success; as a system of church government it has engendered profound dissatisfaction. Each generation of its history has had its discontent; its unsuccessful struggle for change, ending in a greater or less secession; and then has followed the slumber which is produced by an extreme of weariness and exhaustion. We will make no forecast of the future beyond saying this;—the body can have no intelligent and lasting content until this ultramontanism of ministerial prerogative and exclusiveness be abandoned. Without this surrender, whatever tinkerings and modifications the system may undergo, it will be wrong in its principle and unsound at its base, and will repel rather than invite the confidence of those whose confidence is most to be desired.

Cannot the remarkable adaptation of Wesleyan organization for spiritual aggression be combined with principles of government which will prevent ecclesiastical discontent and bitterness? We trust we discern the dawning of a brighter day. Little as is the love we have for this pamphlet in respect to some of its

aims, it has at least this element of hope,—it represents on the part of those most loyal to the present system the conviction that there is need for a change. There is less of boastful admiration of the wisdom of the past ecclesiastical builders of the body, even of the Founder himself, than we were accustomed at one time to hear. It can hardly be said that Wesleyanism has continued to move according to the ecclesiastical lines Wesley laid down. It has not followed the line of adherence to the Established Church; it has not kept distinct and separate hours of service; it has not restricted its preachers from administering the Sacraments to the people, nor from taking to themselves a ministerial authority Mr. Wesley would never suffer them to take; it has admitted changes which in 1797 it refused. We do not blame these departures; rather the attempt to make everything in the system stereotyped and fixed has been its bane. But the fact that Wesleyanism has gone against some of the dearest purposes of its Founder, and has had to make changes and concessions it at one time sternly resisted, will surely dispose Conference to consider well before it rejects the further concessions and changes which may be requested. Had some of its concessions in the past been more timely and generous much of painful rupture might have been avoided. There are two more vital changes which are needful before the basis of an intelligent acquiescence and a lasting peace can be, or, as we think, ought to be established; one is, the abatement of the high ministerial pretension set forth; the other is, the recognition of the right of unofficial members of the church directly or by representation to share in its legislation and administration. Wesleyanism gives to private members of the church no rights whatever. They cannot be present at any meetings which concern the government of the church; they cannot vote for the election of any church-officer; they are allowed no influence in the choice of ministers; in no form can they help to direct church proceedings. It is no exaggeration to say that nine hundred, or thereabouts, out of every thousand of its members have no part in any form in Wesleyan government. Even this plan of lay-representation advocated by Mr. Bunting, taking no account of the restrictions he has named, utterly ignores nine hundred or nearly so, out of every thousand members. He would make the Quarterly Meeting the basis from which his representation would work. But there is not a member of the Quarterly Meeting admitted as a representative of the members of the societies; it is a meeting constituted purely of ex-officio persons, and they are all the preachers' nominees.

In respect, therefore, to all unofficial members his plan would leave their case exactly as it now stands. It is a plan, as we have attempted to shew, unjustifiable in its restrictions, and even supposing it to be free from that objection, there is this further objection to be raised,—it is a plan to represent the official classes of Wesleyanism only, and in no form or sense its common people.

We have not considered Mr. Bunting's proposed reform in respect to the relation in which it may place the Wesleyans to other Methodist bodies. He is frank enough to say that he deprecates the making of any change in the hope of re-uniting to themselves the separatists who have departed from them. If the separatists, as he pleases to call them, are prepared to make an unconditional return he offers them a welcome, but no alteration will he concede to soften the difficulty and humiliation of the return. He knows in respect to at least one of the bodies of separatists, of which we claim more particularly to speak, viz., the Methodist New Connexion, that it was the then unyielding attitude of Wesleyanism in respect to principles it has since given up, and in respect to others he is proposing now to modify, which was the cause of the creation of that body. If history thus writes the unwisdom of Wesleyanism in the past—if by its resistance to just and moderate change it must be held responsible for the creation of an additional sect—then it is hardly generous for him to say that he deprecates change in the hope of re-uniting that sect with the parent body. We can, in part, enter into his jealousy against the "modern rage for amalgamation," especially so against the building up of an enormous ecclesiastical power, worked from one centre and subject to rigid uniformity and inflexibility of rule. But this is no justification for the retention of elements which split a body into unhappy divisions. If, by the refusal of wise concessions and just church rights, the New Connexion was thrust out of Wesleyanism, surely it is no unreasonable anticipation that the latter should shew some sign of relenting and desire to receive the ejected back again. The New Connexion can trustfully appeal to history, and needs not fear its verdict. It can afford to wait the progress of events, and the development of the tendencies of the age. We are inclined to think for the present it is its wisest policy so to do. It has nothing to gain by premature and inconsiderate advances towards other bodies. Time will shew how soon and how near Wesleyanism will be brought to its own platform. For a while, at least, the question of re-union had better rest.

WILLIAM LONGBOTTOM.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Young Men and Maidens, a Pastoral for the Times. By J. BALDWIN BROWN, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1871.

Buying and Selling and Getting Gain, a Pastoral for the Times. By J. BALDWIN BROWN, B.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1871.

"THESE are brief, practical, pastoral addresses touching plainly and freely on some of the most common and notable evils of our times," and are marked by the manly vigour and fearless speech so characteristic of the author. The object he has in view is a very noble one, and, even where his sentiments are not fully shared, his forceful words can scarcely fail to stimulate thought which may eventuate in earnest and intelligent action. Mr. Brown, more than once, gives expression to a fear that he may, by some, be thought Utopian; and we must confess that, to our own thinking, he does occasionally get beyond the practical, and in so far stultify himself. For the most part, however, he is practical enough. The publisher might well have bestowed a little more pains in getting up the latter of the two volumes.

The Thorough Business Man: Memoirs of Walter Powell, Merchant, of Melbourne and London. By BENJAMIN GREGORY. London: Strahan and Co. 1871.

METHODISM has supplied more than one desideratum, and seems destined to supply others. When Mr. Arthur wrote his "Successful Merchant" he complained, and very righteously, "that though 'a nation of shopkeepers,' we have no commercial biography, that while the arts and sciences and learned professions are well and worthily represented, one looks in vain for the 'Lives of the British Merchants.'" After a lapse of just twenty years Mr. Gregory feels justified in reiterating the complaint, while, following the example of Mr. Arthur, he comes forward with an invaluable contribution to this most important, but hitherto neglected branch of literature.

If the title of Mr. Gregory's book lacks the euphoniousness and attractiveness now so much sought after, it possesses the rarer and higher merit of appropriately and adequately describing its contents. Mr. Powell was emphatically "a business man;" yet we have in these memoirs abundant and most gratifying proof that there is no incom-

patibility whatever between the prosecution of business so as to deserve and secure success, and a princely liberality, the most chivalrous friendship, the highest Christian principle, and the most humble and exemplary piety.

"I wish," says Mr. Grogory in his introductory chapter, "to introduce my readers to a man well worth knowing, and to give them the stimulus of his example, and, to the young especially, the enrichment of his experience. · · · A man, then, who from very small beginnings, attained exceptional success by exceptional moral virtue and mental vigour; who sought 'first the kingdom of God and his righteousness,' and found 'all these things added unto' him; who as much in the application as in the acquisition of wealth adhered to and illustrated Christian principles; who, commencing life with no capital and little schooling, yet, whilst challenging the competition of the foremost in commercial astuteness and energy, in spiritual and mental cultivation outstripped many of his superiors as to start and external vantage-ground; who, having lived a right Christian life, died a right Christian death;—such a man ought surely to be known beyond the modest sphere of his personal acquaintanceship: and such a man was Walter Powell, successively clerk, warehouseman, and merchant, in Tasmania, Melbourne, and London. By the blessing of God upon his adherence to well-formed habits and well-laid principles, he rose from a lowly station to abundance, position, consideration, and influence. He experienced pinching and humiliating straits, swift accessions of wealth, disheartening reverses, and violent oscillations of fortune. He knew how to be abased and how to abound. His place of death was not ten miles distant from his place of birth, yet, in the interval between the two events, he had travelled not less than a hundred thousand miles in the four quarters of the globe, and the supplementary world of Australasia, having three times circumnavigated the planet. He did but reach the age of forty-five, yet his character had attained a mellow maturity, and his plans of usefulness a rich completeness and success. His career is the more instructive, inasmuch as he was not a man of genius or of splendid accomplishments, though of superior natural ability and conscientious self-culture. In short, he was not a prodigy, but a pattern. 'Patient continuance in well doing' was the whole secret of his spiritual and temporal success. It can scarcely be an uninteresting or unproductive inquiry to ask what were the principles and habits by which he acquired wealth, retained wealth, and devoted wealth to its legitimate uses."

After a careful perusal, and a partial re-perusal, we beg to assure our readers that they will find it anything but "uninteresting," and we may, without the slightest risk of reputation, predict that it will be far from "unproductive." The chapters on "Business Characteristics," and that on the "Commercial Ethics of Christianity," will prove especially helpful to many in enabling them to see clearly through the fog in which the subject is so generally enveloped. We heartily thank Mr. Powell's accomplished biographer for his thorough discussion (within such prescribed limits) and clear presentation of points affecting Christian morality.

Any one in quest of a useful and acceptable Christmas gift, either to a youth just going apprentice, or to a young man already immersed

in its cares, will look far before they find one likely to prove of more value to the recipient, than "The Thorough Business Man." It ought to have a place in every Sunday School library in the land.

Leonard Morris; or the Benedictine Novice. By the REV. FATHER IGNATIUS, O.S.B. London: Richard Bentley and Son. 1871.

MR. LYNE'S pluck and perseverance are equalled only by his versatility. Whether it be the addressing of a large miscellaneous audience, or the founding of a religious order, or the building of an abbey, or the writing of a novel, nothing seems to come amiss to him. It is but a qualified success that he has attained in his new *rôle* however, one not likely to add much to his reputation, for although he has succeeded in producing a very readable book, novel writing is evidently not his *forte*. But the Reverend Father has a purpose in writing other than that of establishing his fame as a novelist. More than one, indeed, though each is stated without the slightest reference to the others. He is at present engaged in the erection of an abbey, at New Llanthony, near to Abergavenny, which it is intended to make in every respect worthy of the holy Order of St. Benedict. The western side of the cloister is completed, and a friend has promised three thousand pounds for the building of the choir of the Abbey Church; but the cloisters have yet to be finished, then the chapter-house, schools, refectory, and guest-house, and the low state of the funds leads our author piteously to ask, "While all the glorious old monasteries of the Church of England are lying in desolate ruin, is it too much for the monks of Llanthony to implore the aid of Englishmen to enable them to complete and endow their one solitary religious house for the benefit of the Church of England?"

In the opening of his preface he says, "I had been asked by several friends to write a pamphlet explanatory of the objects and position of the Church of England Order of St. Benedict, together with an apology for the adoption of such a name and order in our 'Reformed' [despoiled] Church." His numerous engagements led him to prefer this method of stating his case. Again, at the close of his preface, he tells us,—"The tale is not written for old ladies, but for young men: not to draw unsuitable persons into the monastic life, but to guard ourselves from the painful influx of bad novices, by setting forth plainly the trials and self sacrifices which the submission to the ancient Benedictine rule entails. It will cure many sentimental and weak-minded young men of their poetical fancy, 'How I should love to be a monk.'" Well, all we can say is, if it does not, it

ought to do, for, as here revealed, the drawbacks to "the wondrous beauty of the life of the cloistered monk" are not a few.

Mr. Lyne anticipates adverse criticism. "If some call the tale 'Popish,' others will be found to nickname it 'Methodistical.' True, for such a jumbling together of the cant phrases of both communions one does not often see. Incidentally we learn a few things which a little surprise us, as, *e.g.*, that St. Paul was the first monk, in the year 220; that Baxter's Saints' Rest, and Wesley's Hymns are acknowledged books of devotion at New Llanthony, the latter being infinitely to be preferred by Catholics in their public worship to Hymns Ancient and Modern, because so "full of Jesus, and beautiful Gospel truth;" that the black gown "of which Protestants are so fond," and of which the Ritualists (of whom, by the way, our author draws a very ludicrous picture) have fallen so foul, is, after all, really the correct thing to preach in, being identical with the Benedictine cowl, &c., &c., &c.

As Mr. Lyne is not particular to confining himself to a single character, and is not restrained by any false notions of modesty from speaking of his own achievements, nor even from giving lengthy specimens of his oratorical talent, the space he occupies in the book is naturally a large one.

Pauperism: Seven Sermons preached at St. Mark's, Whitechapel, and one preached before the University of Oxford, with a Preface on the Work and Position of the Clergy in poor districts. By the Rev. Brooke Lambert, M.A., B.C.L., late Vicar of St. Mark's, Whitechapel. London: Sotheran and Co. 1871.

We omitted to notice these sermons in a former issue in the hope of doing so at greater length in the present number, but are again precluded by pressure upon our space. The subject to which they refer is not the most tempting, perhaps, to the general reader, but it is one which demands, and must shortly receive the earnest attention of all thoughtful men possessed of the least spark of philanthropy or patriotism. Lothair might well speak of it as "the terror of Europe and the disgrace of Britain," seeing that our paupers are numbered by the million, and cost the country nearly eight millions annually, beside the millions more that go in private charity.

To any one wishing to study the subject, these sermons will prove a most admirable, easy introduction, and in republishing them in a more permanent form than that in which they originally appeared, Mr. Lambert has been well advised. Readers will not, of course,

expect to find in them any remarkable flights of fancy, nor will they be charmed by some peculiar fascination of style; they are rather plain words of an earnest worker who has practical knowledge of the evil, and sees in part how it may be effectually dealt with. Starting with the proposition that pauperism is "Man's fault not God's ordinance," he proceeds to discuss it in its relation to the rich, the poor, private charity, the poor-law, self-culture, and Christianity—the last of the series, being, we are sorry to say, by far the least satisfactory. A pattern Christ can never save the world, a merely moral Christianity can never regenerate society.

We had marked other passages for quotation, but must content ourselves with the following, taken from the sermon on private charity, and based upon John v. 3—6:—

"And is this the exhibition of Divine mercy? A great multitude of impotent folk, blind, halt, withered, and one made whole. We become accustomed to the fact which the tradition of this pool represents that when God is far off, and rules the world only by the working of certain laws, only one shall be healed out of a great multitude; then we think it wonderful that of Divine mercy one should be healed. But when God is among us, surely a new state of things will be inaugurated, surely He will not deal out with a niggard hand the bounties of His power—but, no, He passes into the throng, He leaves the rest to their misery—He leads out of the prison only one of the captives, when He might have, when we expected He would have, released all. Are we wrong both ways? Wrong in supposing that He is farther off when He works by the general operation of laws, than when we see His presence among us? . . . And wrong too, in supposing that perfect mercy would put an end to all that we consider evil, and that there is an opposition between the sternness which inflicts and the mercy that cures trouble? . . . At any rate, it may be well for us to dwell upon this significant fact to remind us of how little misery in the world Christ set right, of how many He left uncured in body, unconverted in soul. It may correct our notions on many points."

"And now we come to consider the question why He, having it in His power to do so much good, exercised that power so sparingly. I imagine it was because He recognised so fully the value of God's education by pain and suffering. For life is one long teaching by means of this. . . . And he who goes about the world-school, simply trying to staunch the tears of those who cry, without examining why the master lets them work in tears,—he who wanders hither and thither, crying out on the Providence which allows men to be wounded in the world-battle, without enquiring whether they brought it on themselves—he who, in short, tries to be more merciful than God, may think himself a charitable man, but may chance to earn the name of meddling fool."

"And we find this, further, that if we carry out our plans of charity, we prevent the suffering from doing the work God intended it to do, that we encourage men in that state of helpless waiting for something to fall into their mouths, which destroys self-help, which turns men into cringing hypocrites, which makes them despise the hard task when they can so easily get bread by charity, and leads them to believe at last that riches exist in the world to feed the poor directly by gifts, and not indirectly by earnings. And we learn, as we live amongst the poor, to feel that there are worse things than ragged bodies and hungry mouths, that the moral

degradation of a people, in whom all self-respect and all self-help is lost, is a far worse evil than any amount of temporary suffering."

"I speak these things to you from my very heart. I have seen the poor demoralized by charity, I have seen those who were made for better things sink by degrees, through unwise charity, into the pauper class. I have known the devilish temptation of help too readily proffered; I have known the evils of too free a use of opiates, and anodynes, and stimulants; and I beseech you to beware how you perpetuate the condition of pauperism in the mass, by your own zeal in ministering to the wants of individuals."

"Charity must cost you something. There is room enough for present effort—you must go yourself among the poor, and not distribute your charity by any society whatever. . . . . The change which has come over medicine will infect you. You will not attack symptoms, you will try to regenerate the whole constitution. And nothing will aid you so much in this as the study of His life, who, in this, as in other things, is our Model and Pattern. The Pool of Bethesda is a microcosm of His life."

The Land Question. By EMPSON EDWARD MIDDLETON. Author of "The Cruise of the Kate," &c., &c., &c. London: E. Truelove. 1871.

ACCEPTING Dictator Odger's dictum that the Land Question is *the* question of the hour, we took up this pamphlet in the expectation of finding in it some contribution to its settlement from the advanced Republican point of view. What we did find was, first, a chapter on Morality, then one on Modesty *versus* Humility, followed by discursive discussions of Thoroughbredism, Heroism, Education, and a multiplicity of other topics, concluding with a separate chapter on Hell! The few pages devoted to Landholding consist chiefly of extracts from Prescott's "Peru," and those parts of Hume's History of England which treat of Feudalism. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to add that the following climax, with its terrible threat, is Mr. Middleton's own:—

"If you will not listen, and will not be governed, your case is hopeless, and the sword will decide the matter, and will plunge you all in greater darkness than exists at present. . . . But woe to those whose weakness shall ever allow such a day to commence in this country! Every atrocity of the French Revolution will be acted over again in this country, if this most vital question is left to rankle in the breasts of growing millions. Not only in this country: Woe unto you, O Land, or North, or South, or East, or West, that shall persist in your perversities! Woe unto you, for the hailstorm of blood shall descend upon you! Your mighty ones shall be drowned, and my words shall float on the puddle!" (pp. 80, 85).

Should our readers still be in doubt about purchasing the pamphlet, the few words which precede and follow a very commonplace quotation from Carlyle, may decide them—

"Here, again, I break the thread of the subject to refer to the book Chartism,' Carlyle, a great book; a great voice crying in the wilderness;

a real John the Baptist voice. I had written on many pages ; had carried 'Chartism' to bed; fatigued my candle my last wakeful hour, and had resumed it again before rising in the morning, and at page 99 I found:— '. . . . .' Truly a great voice; a great voice as from a mountainous wilderness; a hemmed-in, hurled-back, mountain-top-striking, mountain-base-shaking, whirlwind-shrieking, gully-rent-voice; 'Chartism' the flintiest, the most tangled, the fiercest-rending, noblest-shrieking gully of that wilderness."

Mr. Middleton, in publishing, professes to be animated by the amiable desire to serve his fellows. How much better he might have done so by allowing this quietly to remain with the last announcement of the cover,—for he is a somewhat voluminous author,—"UNPUBLISHED. *Thistlepricks*, a poem, &c., &c., &c."

Darwinism Refuted. An Essay on Mr. Darwin's Theory of "The Descent of Man." By SIDNEY HERBERT LAING. Elliot Stock. 1871.

IF the somewhat pretentious title of this little book is not justified by its contents, it may yet enable readers who have not the opportunity of consulting more important works, to form an idea of the writings of Mr. Darwin and others on the origin of the human race which have produced so much excitement in the scientific, and such a panic in the religious, world. Especially it may enable them to form a judgment as to the weak point of such writings, the attempt to set up a startling theory upon a basis which must be admitted to be logically inadequate.

In Mr. Darwin's books, "The Origin of Species," and "The Descent of Man," two things are specially noticeable. First, the accumulation of facts in natural science by an able and competent observer; and the general accuracy of these facts, as well as the candour and fairness with which they are stated, must be considered undeniable. The second observation has respect to the conclusions which he attempts to draw from them ; in the first mentioned of the above works, that all the varieties in the animal creation have their origin in one, or at least a small number of specific forms ; and in the second, that man has descended by gradual development, through a long series of easy stages, from some very primitive, undeveloped, scarcely organized form of animal life.

The chief object of Mr. Laing's book is to show that such views are entirely unsupported by the facts, and that the "evolution" hypothesis has nothing to rest upon but a series of guesses, analogies, assumptions, and possibilities, from which no rational conclusion can be drawn, still less a theory so important as that attempted to be

established. The absurdity of the attempt is set forth in a clear and sometimes amusing manner, while the author does justice to "the scientific attainments and eminent genius of Charles Darwin." It is unnecessary even if we had space, to enter upon a fuller examination of the book or of the subject of which it treats. We may, however, express our satisfaction that such discussions are not likely to produce any disastrous result to the interests of religion, although persons of weak faith or unsettled views may receive a temporary shock.

The nebular hypothesis of the "Mécanique Céleste" was to have confuted the sublime announcement, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," but Astronomy and Revelation are still in harmony with one another. And so, whatever wild or improbable theories may be set up to account for our race, and by whatever imposing array of scientific facts they may seem to be supported, the humble believer may still rest in the Divine assurance that, "God created man in His own image, in the image of God created He him."

Modern Scepticism. A course of Lectures delivered at the request of the Christian Evidence Society; with an explanatory paper, by the Right Reverend C. J. ELLICOTT, Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. London: HODDER and STOUGHTON, 27, Paternoster Row. 1871.

WE expected to have been able to give a somewhat extended notice of this excellent volume, but are prevented from want of space. We hope, however, to do so in our next issue; and in the meantime we cordially recommend the work to the attention of our readers.

The Young Student's English Grammar for Schools: including the formation and derivation of words, the analysis of sentences, and numerous exercises. By the author of the "Youth's English Grammar," "Class-Book of Modern Science," &c., &c. Manchester: John Heywood, Deansgate; London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1871.

WE have much pleasure in recommending this new work from the prolific pen of Dr. Bullock. The plan of the book is sufficiently simple and intelligible to meet the capacity of ordinary boys and girls, while the illustrations are so apt and striking that learners cannot fail to remember and profit by them. A grammar like this is a real boon both to teacher and pupil.

The Life and Times of the Rev. John Wesley, M.A. By the Rev. L. Tyerman. Vol. III. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1871.

This the concluding volume of Mr. Tyerman's incomparable biography is, in many respects, the most interesting of the three. To prepare and give to the world a good book is a commendable act, but the best books, to fulfil their mission in the world, must be circulated and read. We have heard it frequently asserted that Methodists are not a reading people, and do very little, compared with their number and means, for the encouragement of even denominational literature. There is, we fear, too large a modicum of truth in this accusation. Let us hope this valuable life of their Founder will prove an exception to the rule. Thirty-six shillings is certainly a large sum to expend on a biography, and beyond the means of many. We are glad, therefore, to notice that the Life of Wesley is in the course of re-issue in twelve monthly parts, half-a-crown each. This arrangement will make it attainable by a wider circle of readers; and justice will never be done either to the subject or writer of the biography until it has become a household book amongst Methodists of all denominations.

The History of Modern Europe: for Schools and Private Students. By Thomas Bullock, LL.D. Manchester: John Heywood; London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

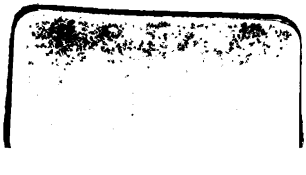
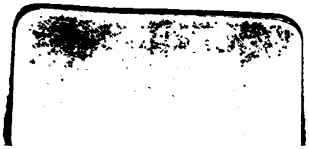
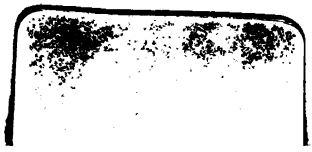
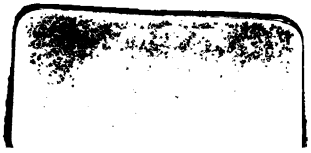
The former edition of this compendious history received general and warm approval from the press. That we now present to the notice of our readers is carefully revised and enlarged, and carried down to so recent a date as May, 1871. It is also printed in a new and bolder type, and has a carefully-prepared Index appended. The price of the work is half-a-crown, and for thirty postage stamps a specimen copy may be had, carriage free, from the Manchester publisher, 141 Deansgate. As the work becomes known we expect to see it adopted as a class-book in schools, and also in extensive use as a book of reference for the general reader. A more excellent manual we are not acquainted with, either for completeness of information or excellence of style. No intelligent youth will find it a task to read the work.

Synonyms of the Old Testament: their bearing on Christian faith and practice. By the Rev. R. B. Girdlestone, M.A. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1871.

To the Bible student, whether he be minister or layman, this will be found a most serviceable work. It consists of thirty chapters devoted

to an investigation of the usage of the leading terms in the Word of God. The enumeration of these terms would occupy too much of our space, as they amount to several hundreds, indeed no term of any importance in relation to religious thought is omitted.

The writer proceeds on the principle that while it is important to study the writings of the early fathers, and the works of English and foreign divines of various schools, the pious, diligent, and accurate study of the sacred text is the appointed means of obtaining a wise and practical understanding of the truth, both as it regards the character and work of God, and the duty and hopes of man. The work is marked by ability, impartiality, and fairness. That the author has approached his task as a student, and not as a controversialist, is evident from the work itself. "Some readers," he says, "will object that too many controverted points are introduced; whilst others will complain that the writer's views on doctrinal subjects are not sufficiently pronounced. Believing that sound theology ought to be based on accurate Biblical criticism, the writer could not discuss sacred words without touching upon their doctrinal import. On the other hand, having put together the materials which could best aid in the formation of a judgment on the chief doctrines of the Bible, it seemed both unwise and unnecessary, even if there had been time and space for the undertaking, to work out the details of a theological system." To ministers who wish to obey the Apostolic injunction, "Preach the Word," and to all who would read their Bible intelligently as well as devoutly, we cordially commend this book, and should any be led thereby to procure a copy of it, we are confident they will not regret their purchase.

We may further remark that the value of the book is enhanced by its indexes of Subjects, of Hebrew and Greek words, and of the Texts elucidated or referred to.

The following books have been received, and will be noticed in our next:—"The Biblical Museum," "The Gospel Church," "Missionary Enterprise no Fiction," "Commentary on the New Testament," "The Class Leader's Assistant and Christian's Handbook," "The Fool's Gospel," "Must God annihilate the wicked?" and "Memoirs of Rev. Dr. E[illegible]ridge," by the Rev. Thornley Smith.